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CHINESE STUDENTS AND RELIGION

A Symposium

Prepared for the Pacific Area Conference of the
World's Student Christian Federation

Mill's College, California, U.S.A.,
August 23-September 2, 1936.

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To Those

Who Work for the Solidarity of the Christian Community

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PREFACE

In view of the many critical issues arising from the present international situation in the Pacific Area, the World's Student Christian Federation has called a meeting of representative delegations from all Student Christian Movements around the Pacific to be held at Mill's College, California, U.S.A., on August 23—September 2, 1936. In this Pacific Area Conference of the W. S. C. F. the different national delegations will concern themselves with the following topics: (1) The Christian Message, (2) The Contribution of Christian Missions, (3) Christian Students and International Understanding, (4) Christian Students and Race Relations, (5) Christian Students and Social Justice, (6) Christian Students and the State. Since these problems appear in different forms in different countries, we think that it might be worthwhile to compose a symposium of relevant articles on China for the use of delegates from other national movements.

Altogether ten articles have been collected in this little volume. For lack of a better title we use the title of the first article as the title of the book. Most of the articles have already appeared in different publications, such as "The Chinese Recorder," "China Christian Year Book," "International Review of Missions," and "World's Youth." To these our thanks are due. The articles on "The Challenge of Communism in China." and "War or Peace," have not yet appeared in other publications. It is hoped that these ten articles will serve to give a picture of how the common issues of Religion, Social Reconstruction, Communism, War, and Nationalism are faced in the light of the Christian Message in China.

KIANG WEN-HAN,
Shanghai, China,
July, 1936.

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CHAPTER I.

CHINESE STUDENTS AND RELIGION

KIANG WEN-HAN

On the whole, religion does not hold an important place in the life and thinking of the students in China. When students register in schools or colleges very few of them claim adherence to any religion. Religion is often regarded as an object of derision and contempt. Lectures and discussions on religious topics seldom command the ear of a big audience. The reading materials of the students, especially the current periodicals and magazines, contain few articles on religion. Students on the campus seem to have very little interest or enthusiasm about religion. Nevertheless, the time of organized anti-religious activity is passing. There are more who are indifferent than antagonistic to religion.

Several factors may be responsible for this general indifferentism. The first is the setting aside of China's historic religions. The well-known three religions of China are, Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. Owing to the tolerant and synthetic attitude of the Chinese people, these three religions have for long periods existed and flourished side by side without bringing about religious wars or theological controversies. It is common to find people holding two or all three of these historic beliefs. The point is that these beliefs invariably entail a set of conventional practices which persist more from habit than from a deep religious conviction. However, in the modern light of things, these conventional practices, are generally considered superstitious and futile. The "new thought tide" simply does not brook the existence of anything that is of this latter category. This is why we find that Chinese students no longer observe the traditional practices of idol worship and festive ceremonies.

Some people say that Chinese civilization is a composite product of the three historic religions. But the value and significance of these religions have begun to diminish in the eyes of the skeptical class of students. Let us first take Confucianism into consideration. Confucianism is generally not considered as a religion, for Confucius himself was a staunch humanist and agnostic. The chief contribution of Confucius was ethical and

not religious. He said very clearly that, 'If we do not understand enough about life, how can we know anything about death? And if we have not learned how to serve men, how can we serve the spirits?" The two important tenets of Confucianism are ancestor-worship and filial piety and these are now being thrown almost entirely overboard. The teachings of Confucius are for the most part considered as antiquated. And antiquity is anathema in the minds of Chinese students today. Confucius is no longer worshipped as a sage of immaculate character and divine wisdom. We seldom find students bow their heads before the portrait or tablet of Confucius or attend the Spring and Autumn sacrificial ceremonies in Confucius' temples. Many students educated in the modern system of education have not even touched the Confucian classics.....They just don't want "to believe and take delight in antiquity" as propounded in the ethical system of Confucius.

Taoism is mainly a system of philosophy apart from the hotch-potch of its crude superstition. Lao-tse is now respected chiefly for his philosophy of naturalism and do-nothingness and not as the founder of a religion. Present-day students would scorn anybody worshipping the hierarchy of the Taoist gods and the attempt to achieve long life by taking mysterious wines and pills. The same thing may be said of Buddhism. In spite of the fact that most families still persist in Buddhist practices, Buddhism is now treated chiefly as a system of philosophy. Since most of the Buddhist literature is profound and incomprehensible, very few students, if any, have a thorough understanding of Buddhism. But there are not a few students who resort to the Buddhist religion as a refuge in time of utter disappointment. Besides these three historic religions we sometimes come across rare cases of students who claim to be Mohammedans. Their number in the schools and colleges is always negligible. Most of them are Mohammedans by birth and perhaps none of them have ever read the Koran. They abstain from pork in their diet and that is perhaps all there is to their religion.

A second factor that accounts for the general indifferentism is the humanistic tendency of Chinese students. Humanism is native to China. The general conception of religion in China is that "it leads man to do good." We are not particularly a "God-seeking" people. We are most concerned with the relationship between man and man. When we worship God we do it as a last resort after we have failed in our own efforts. "We call for God when we are helpless." Three things may be

noted in the Chinese spirit of humanism. The first is regarding the practical end of life. The Chinese would feel content in having a simple life and unmolested security. Metaphysical and other-worldly beliefs are largely inculcated in their minds from outside. The second is the seeking of adjustment between man and man. The famous 'five relationships' of Confucius and the cult of "face-saving" are deliberate manifestations of this point. And the third is an abhorrence of logical extremes. Our mental discipline is moulded essentially in the doctrines of the "golden mean" and "human reasonableness." The student mentality is tainted in various degrees with these humanistic characteristics.

The development of science and aesthetics has intensified the humanistic tendency of the Chinese students. "Science is supreme power" is a very popular slogan in the student field. After baptism in scientific knowledge students begin to be worried over the question of conflict between science and religion. They see so much conflict and incompatibility that they would go so far as to conclude that religion is a hindrance to modern progress. There are other students who tend to follow the venerable educator, Dr. Tsai Yuan-pei, in making aesthetics the substitute for religion. In their minds, religion is essentially educational in nature. Modern education consists of three phases of training, viz., moral, intellectual and physical, in the provisions for modern education, only the aesthetic phase is left out. This need could be met by the cultivation of a sense of the appreciation of beauty instead of by superstitious religion.

The central problem of Chinese students today is the search for a "way-out." There has been a good deal of discussion on the "conception of life" in recent years. "Way-out for Youth" has become a very absorbing topic among students. Some of the Bible classes in mission schools have changed their names to "classes for the study of life problems." These clearly indicate that the Chinese students are very practical and non-theistic minded. Their quest is a double one: character-building and abundant life. To them, God is as Mr. Wu Chi-hwei puts it, "a lump of sheer blackness." Religion has never functioned in China as an active force and if it functioned at all, it functioned as a negative check only. We believe in human effort. As an old Chinese saying goes, "Man's will can always outwit God"; and we are naturalistic for we believe that nature is sufficient by itself. It is futile to question the cause and motive of things for they are so by nature.

Dr. Hu Shih is a very influential humanist in China today. Let us see how he explains his religion of "social immortality." "I don't believe in the immortality of the soul, nor do I believe in such a thing as Heaven or Hell. Therefore, I hold that the 'small-self' is bound to die away. Dying away is but the universal phenomenon of all living things..... There is, however, in every person, an immortal part; his virtue and vices, his sayings and actions; all these, however great or small, however good or evil, right or wrong, leave their indelible effects and influences in the big-self..... The good is immortal, the bad is immortal..... Whenever I make a statement, I don't dare to neglect the social effect of that statement; whenever I take a step, I don't dare to neglect the social effect of that step. In this way we should hold ourselves responsible to the big-self..... This then is morality; this then is religion." This theory of social immortality is not new. The ancient scholars had already made well known the three possible ways of making oneself immortal, namely (1) by virtue, (2) by writing, and (3) by achievement. This interpretation of immortality undoubtedly appeals to Chinese students more realistically than any of the religious versions.

A third factor in producing indifferentism is the growth of rival beliefs. Chinese students are deeply absorbed in various national and social issues today. Only those beliefs that can help meet the present "crisis" inspire their fervor and confidence. Ever since the establishment of the Republic, China has been embroiled in chaos, revolutions, civil strife, and foreign aggressions. It is only natural that in a country like China which is still in the process of making and struggling the students are so deeply concerned about immediate problems which are of life and death to them. The changes in China are so rapid that it has raised a constant upheaval of confusion, contradiction and conflict in the minds of the forward-looking generation. If China were left alone in hermit isolation, she might be able to drag on without much difficulty. But she needs to be modernized. And in the attempt at modernization, she has in many ways been frustrated by the militarists' strife and the recent Japanese invasions. At the same time, it is tragic to find that the world is also changing and the thing we call "modern" is being brought under serious question. Such constitutes the "National Crisis" of China today.

The two dominant aspirations of the Chinese students are national consolidation and social reconstruction. In response

to these aspirations various secular doctrines and theories are struggling for the soul of the Chinese students. At the start of the Nationalist Revolution in 1926, students flocked to the Kuomintang and its "Three Principles of the People" as the only "way out" for China. The Sun Yat Sen memorial service was observed in all the schools and colleges on Monday." Party principles" was made a required course in the curriculum. But in the course of time, students began to be disillusioned and disappointed about the Kuomintang regime. They found that there is very little difference in the actual state of affairs between the present regime and the period under the former group of militarists. In many respects, the situation has indeed turned from bad to worse. There are more taxes, more danger to personal freedom, more civil dissension, more official corruption, more disorder, and more serious foreign aggression. The Party has failed the ardent hopes of youth in China.

Although the present Government is under the control of the Kuomintang, distrust and dissatisfaction among the people has become widespread. The Chinese students are ready to rally their energy and enthusiasm around any theory or party which will bring into effect this national hope of unification and consolidation. Aside from the various theories and parties that are at work on the campuses, we will mention the growing tendency towards fascism. It is said that there exists the so-called Blue Shirts' Movement which aims at an enlightened dictatorship. It should be noted that this movement is not a spontaneous movement among the students, but one which by virtue of its questionable methods and material offers would exclude from it most of the thoughtful and promising elements in the student rank and file.

The present "national crisis" also raises in the minds of many students the more baffling and challenging question of social reconstruction. Can a national change be brought about without a change of the social structure in which almost the whole world is now entrenched? Is not the present Japanese invasion a natural result of the imperialism fostered by the anarchistic and planless capitalistic order of society? The puzzling mind of many a serious-thinking student serves as the fertile soil for the spread of Communism. It is difficult to give any estimate of the actual number of the Communist students in China, but the Communist influence among students must be amazing. We may find very few students who actually affiliate themselves with the Communist Party but the number of those

who are called "left deviationists" is evidently growing. Most of the so-called modern literature is shot through and through with Communistic ideology. And most of the latest motion-pictures produced in China are intented to expose the contradictions and evils of the present social order and call for sympathy with the miserable working class. Communism is opposed to religion for it considers religion as an instrument of capitalist exploitation and an opiate for the people. It functions as religion by virtue of the fact that it inspires a devotion to a cause, and provides a definite program for achieving it.

Enough has heen said about the causes for the general indifferentism towards religion among Chinese students. But what about the attitude of the Chinese students toward Christianity? In China nowadays, religion is almost synonymous with Christianity. When we say religion, we are generally supposed to mean Christianity. When people are opposed to religion their target is generally Christianity. Reasons for this are, that the other historic religions are generally set aside by the intellectuals, and that they are not so well organized and influential as Christianity as to be of any practical importance. Thus the question of the relationship of Christianity with other religions is not a very serious question in China. Then the Anti-Christian Movement is also not to be very much worried about now. Except some occasional outbursts such as at Christmas time, there is no organized Anti-Christian Movement in China today. Except the sprinkling of those "left deviationists" who attack Christianity from a socialistic and materialistic standpoint, students generally present an open door to the spread of Christianity.

Let us first look at the recent development of the Chinese Christian students along the lines of their group life and their relationship with the church. Regarding the new spirit of the Christian students we may mention three. The. first is the seeking for religious reality. So much of the religious belief of Christian students has been taken for granted. So many Christians are nominal and have very little conviction of their own faith. Partly due to outside challenge and partly due to an inner shake-up the students have begun to realize that Christianity is something more than a daily routine of services, prayer groups, Bible classes, etc. They want to seek a religious life firmly grounded in a valid experience of God. In other words, they are eager to cultivate a sense of religious seriousness. Second, there is the demand for action. Religion is not merely

something to accept. It should be rooted in action. What is the use of Christianity if it has nothing to say or offer in meeting the present national crisis, and in changing the diseased social order? This is why when a majority of the students are buried in apathy and disillusionment, the minority group of Christian students, instead of yielding to despair, have taken on a more constructive program of the promotion of native goods, rural service, and war work of a non-combatant nature. The steadiness of their hearts may have sometimes been disturbed by the twinge of pacifism and the love-principle of Jesus, but they believe that action is better than supine non-activity, and that to do something is better than not to do anything at all. Third, there is a nostalgia for discipline. We cannot accomplish anything by haphazard efforts. We must overcome our personal and communal inertia by rigorous discipline. This may be illustrated by the covenant of "seven points" formulated by the Commission of the Chinese Student Christian Movement: (1) To have a daily period of devotion. (2) To live a simple frugal life. (3) To discipline bodies for sound health. (4) To strictly observe sex morals. (5) To be truthful and sincere in word and deed. (6) To be punctual in all appointments. (7) To foster a cooperative spirit in social activities.

The organization of small and congenial Fellowship Groups among Christian students in China is a new development of the last five or six years. Since almost all the mission schools and colleges have become registered with the Government, religious life on the campus has been changed from a compulsory to a voluntary basis. So it is very natural that vital religious life begins to concentrate in the intensified groups of enthusiastic and earnest Christian students and faculty members. Generally speaking, there are three types of Fellowship Groups. The first type may be illustrated by the Christian Fellowship of Yenching University in Peiping. To all intents and purposes it is a full-fledged church on the campus open to any non-Christian professor, student, or servant who is willing to sign a certain form pledge. The second type may be illustrated by the Christian Fellowship in Nanking University which is a more exclusive sort of group living. New members pass through a period of probation and admission can be granted only with the unanimous approval of the whole group. The members are made up of both students and faculty members, Christian and non-Christian. The F. O. C. (Friends of Christ Group) of Shantung Christian University and the March Circle of Lingnan University, Canton, are of the same type with some modifications.

The third type may be illustrated by the Friends of Jesus Groups of Pui Ying Middle School in Canton. These are formed within the frame work of the school Y.M.C.A. The Yenta Christian Fellowship takes the place of the YM..C.A., while the Nanking Christian Fellowship leaves the university Y.M.C.A. alone as a separate existence.

Let us now turn to the relationship of the Christian students to the Church. That most of the students are losing interest in the Church is an undeniable fact. Student attendance in the churches has been greatly attenuated in recent years. Many a student who has no anti-religious sentiment does have some anti-church sentiment. There has been a number of cases who prefer to be baptized in student conferences instead of in the churches. We may enumerate a few things which the students hold as reasons for their dissatisfaction with the church. (1) The questionable qualities of the pastors. (2) The church being too much detached from society. (3) The stereotyped ceremonies and too much emphasis on creeds and doctrinal teachings. (4) Denominational differences and distinctions. (5) Dependence on foreign money and influence. (6) Too much stress on high statistics for baptisms and not on life-changing. (7) Drawing too strict a distinction between Christians and non-Christians on the basis of church membership or baptism. (8) The arrogance of foreign missionaries. (9) Its failure to meet the needs of the students and to provide a program for their expression. As a result of this general dissatisfaction with the church the students have started to organize their own forms of worship and to prepare their own prayers and hymnals. These student services are not intended to take the place of the formal churches but they do serve as a challenge to organized religion in China. Let us examine the three emphases put forth in the city-wide student Sunday services in Canton. "(1) To make use of a solemn and worshipful program so as to enable everybody to realize or feel the implicit presence of God. (2) To leave the program in the hands of students so as to ensure the living vitality of youth. (3) To establish a rational basis for all the contents of the program such as the sermon and prayer so as to stimulate the spiritual sensitivity of youth." These in a nutshell indicate what the students would demand of the church.

Religious life in Government schools is comparatively difficult, Just recently I heard a student make this characteristic remark, "Christianity, opium and ammunition are the three things which the foreigners use in their insatiable aggressionin

China." His attitude towards Christianity is very skeptical and prejudiced. He thinks that religion is hypnotic in function and that the missionaries are secret agents of the imperialistic countries. In spite of these occasional criticisms and attacks on Christianity, we find that the door of the government schools is more widely open than before. In several cities, student workers of Christian institutions have been able to carry on an increasing number of Bible classes in and outside the government schools. The religious camaigns of Dr. Sherwood Eddy and Mr. Stanley Jones have met with an open mind on the part of most of the Government school students.

What we need in China today is a positive and aggressive Christian message. It is no time for us to take an apologetic or a defeatist attitude. The opportunity for the spread of Christianity in China today is unlimited and unprecedented. Mr. Stanley Jones was right when he said, "The soul of educated China is a great moral and spiritual vacuum." There is great opportunity for this vacuum to be filled by a positive and aggressive Christian message. To my mind, this message should mean at least four things. In the first place, we should restore Jesus as the center of our faith. Our purpose is not to transplant American Christianity or British Christianity but to restore the religion of Jesus. Secondly, we should attempt to establish a rational basis for our faith in the light of modern scientific developments. Theological obscurantism and technical ideologies will only make people feel tight and fast and bring no spiritual advantage. Thirdly, we should attempt to identify religion with life. Religion is coextensive with life. Its business is not just to save "souls" only but to provide a practical way of life. And the most effective way of preaching is to show forth Christ in our mode of living. Then fourthly, we should attempt to formulate and undertake a Christian program of social reconstruction. As Christians, we cannot overlook the evil effects of the present social system, and the necessity of transforming it. Vital Christianity is a dangerous adventure. In China, social reconstruction lies chiefly in the realm of rural life for more than eighty per cent of our population belongs to the rural districts. How Christianity shall lead the younger generation to the villages and dedicate their lives to this important task of rural reconstruction is a very urgent and pertinent question of the day.

CHAPTER II.

CHRISTIANITY AND CHINA'S RECONSTRUCTION

Y. T. WU

The following is the substance of a statement which the writer presented to the meeting of the Provisional Council of the Student Christian Movement of China in January 1936. It was drawn up to form the basis of a more systematic study of the faith and mission of the S.C.M. which had already been going on for a year prior to the meeting. It is an attempt to clarify certain basic issues with regard to our religious faith and its application to the present Chinese situation.

Our Religious Basis.

The object of our faith.

We believe that there is in this universe a Force which penetrates all existence and all forms of life.

We cannot discover with our senses the "body" (or substance) of this Force just as we cannot discover with our senses the "body" of an electron, of gravity, or of what is called the mind within the human person.

But this Force reveals itself at all times and at all places. It reveals itself in the world of nature as laws and in human society as love. Laws penetrate and sustain all natural phenomena; without them, there would be no such things as natural phenomena as we see them. Similarly, love penetrates and sustains human society. Human beings are social in nature, and love is an indispensable element in the forming of human society. We do not deny the existence of social evil, but the fact that human beings do not feel at home with evil and that there is a ceaseless striving after the good, compels us to admit the necessity and the universality of love. In fact, what is called love is simply the basic "law" within the human order.

We can experience truth and love, but we cannot experience the substance of which they are expressions. Just as we can experience the workings of the electron, of gravity, and of mind, but not the substances that constitute them.

Since law and love penetrate and sustain all existence and all forms of life, we say that the Force which they reveal is united, is one.

We call this Force God or Father, but that does not mean that It is like a human person. How can human beings with their limitations in understanding and in language devise a name that would be appropriate to this great and unsearchable Force. This Force not only penetrates and sustains; It also creates and destroys. It reveals not only truth and love, It also reveals beauty. In order to meet our emotional needs, we have, consciously or unconsciously, personalized It, but personalization is not something of which to be afraid. A Chinese poet writes:

Wind of the Spring,
I knew thee not;
Why then this uninvited rush
Into the curtains of my inner chamber!

He has personalised the wind, but that in on way interferes with the truth which the facts represent. We say 'God", "Father": these terms merely symbolise the intmacy of this Force in Its relation to us, the guidance which It gives, and Its authority over us.

This mighty Force which permeates and sustains everything in this universe is the object of our faith. It (or He) reveals Itself continually: in nature,in human relations, in the ugly and the evil,in the beautiful and the good. We seek Him because He has first sought us. He is near us, like the rays of the sun which bathe us in its splendour,like the gentle breeze which soothes and refreshes us. But between Him and us, there is an unfathomable chasm. It separates us from Him as the earth is separated from the sun or as the mountain top is elevated above the bottom of the ocean. He reveals His majesty and His greatness; He also exposes our wickedness and our insignificance. Consequently, He is to us both a stern master and a helpful friend. To be in a repentent mood and to be receptive to His revelations; to search, to obey, and to strive, struggle and create with what has been received,—that is religion. To let these revelations continually influence, change and destroy our per-

sonal desires, views, and plans, so that they may reflect a little more of His truth and His goodness,—that is prayer. To let this immense Power mould our whole being, so that we may be transformed from fear and worry into a life of peace, courage, understanding, and joy,—that is salvation and a new birth.

Jesus Christ.

Jesus Christ is the unique revealer of that powerful Force which we have called God. In Him, we see truth and love incarnated and personalised. Jesus is a historic person; like other historic persons, He died. But He is not dead, for, even now, whenever we come into contact with Him through literature or through other personalities, we are able to experience His presence vividly. This presence, together with the guidance which it gives us, is what we call Christ.

The religion of Jesus is the religion of life. He looks at life from the perspective of a holy, yet loving Father. The central faith of His religion is the value and the possibilities of life. He is thoroughly acquainted with human wickedness; nevertheless He affirms the sacredness of life. Because of his wickedness, man needs salvation and rebirth; bacause of the divine spark in him, man, however evil, possesses the dignity of a person and is never incapable of rebirth.

Because Jesus attaches crucial importance to the value of life, His religion is a revolutionary religion. He would attack relentlessly any individual, group, or institution which would suppress, or destroy life. His love expresses itself as reproof and revolt against the oppressor and sympathy and help toward the oppressed.

Because Jesus attaches equal importance to the possibilities of life, He would not use the method of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" for the realisation of social good. He insists on the necessity for oneness of means and ends, for "a corrupt tree cannot bear good fruit." Therefore He hates sin, but not the sinner; He wants to do away with class distinctions, but he is not class-conscious; He would have men enjoy a materially abundant life, but He would not let the material become an end in life.

The way of salvation to which Jesus points us is the way of the Cross. "Whosoever would save his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life shall save it." This saying is a treasurehouse of incalculable riches, and no amount of words

would be adequate to express the inexhaustible meaning contained therein. The Way of the Cross is a tremendous challenge to us. He who would respond to the challenge must forget himself and follow the commands of Truth wherever they may lead. The Way of the Cross is diametrically opposed to the ways of human wisdom and human expediency, but Jesus has shown us that it is the only way to life.

The Needs of our Social Environment.

The International Situation.

The international situation is in a state of great impending change, Put in concise words, the changes involved are; the transition of the Capitalistic society from the stage of prosperity to that of decay and a movement towards the Socialistic order as the result of grave social injustices and international unrest. The race of armament, fascist dictatorship, unemployment, competition for markets, Japanese and Italian imperialistic aggression in China and Abyssinia,—these are signs of the former; the founding and growth of the U.S.S.R., the revolt and resistance of weaker peoples, the existence of class consciousness in Capitalistic countries, the movement against war and fascism, the spread of revolutionary ideas,—these are signs of the latter.

Such a situation makes an international war seem inevitable. The result of this war, if it comes, will be, on the one hand, terrible destruction, and, on the other, the growth in power of progressive movements. We believe that the world is going in the direction of a socialistic order; but this new order will come only after a period of fierce struggle. Whether this struggle will be peaceful or violent; whether it will be prolonged or brought to a quick success; this will depend on the nature of the different social situations during the coming period.

Our Attitude.

We do not cherish the utopian illusion that society after a period of radical change will beome ideal. From the standpoint of Christianity, we are positive in standing for a fundamental reconstruction of the present economic order. But we believe that economic change is only the first step toward a complete revolution. A society that would put the value of personality in the central place would require a many-sided and continual revolution. In this regard we believe that the Gospel of Jesus is an eternal challenge to this world.

Organized Christianity, however, is a religion that has sanctioned violence and upheld the *status quo*. Since the decline of feudalism in the West, it has identified itself with Capitalism, nationalism, and imperialism. This is the reason why it is so impotent today. We must regain at this time the prophetic consciousness of the tension between the temporal and the eternal, between what is and what ought to be, so that the Gospel of Jesus may once more be proclaimed with power as an eternal challenge to the world.

The Needs of China.

First of all, China needs a national repentence. The present crisis convicts us of sin. It lays bare the fruit of decades of corruption, of poor government, of selfish leadership, and of an indifferent people who have allowed such things te be. We have turned our eyes outwardly and located the seat of our trouble in foreign aggression or in the doings of the other person or group or persons; we must also see in ourselves, the individual and corporate guilt which has contributed to the making of the present crisis. Only such a sense of sin can give us the right perspective from which to deal with the present situation and wean us from the hardness, self-righteousness, and excesses to which such a situation easily leads.

But we must go further. This national repentence must express itself in practical ways, if it is not to become morbid self-centredness. It must express itself in social action.

The action which will most adequately express this national repentence is a social revolution. By social revolution we mean the radical change from a social order based on the principles of private property, laissez-faire and competition which give rise to exploitation, oppression and injustice, to a social order based on the principles of communal labor, communal appropriation and communal ownership.

We repudiate the shallow idealism which regards the problem of China as merely a problem of morals and character and which believes that the problems of China would be completely solved if means could be devised to elevate morals and to improve character. We believe that morals and character are inseparable from material conditions and the social environment. If material relations are not changed, the change of the heart, even if possible, would not be thoroughgoing nor lasting.

We equally repudiate the shallow materialism which considers morals and character as of no importance, and which believes that once a social reorganization is achieved, we shall enter into an ideal world.

We follow Jesus completely in His teaching: "Men do not live by bread alone." By this He means: "Men do live by bread, but not by bread alone." Shallow idealism has understood only the second half of this sentence, while shallow materialism only its first half. We stand for revolution, but there must first be a revolution in our own consciousness. This is a change of the mind and a change of the heart. This change is brought about partly by the social situation and partly by conscious propaganda. A revolutionary consciousness produces revolutionary action, and this action produces a new and higher consciousness. The whole process is in the form of a cycle.

Some will say: the Chinese society is a society of under-production, not one of over-production. Its problem therefore is not one of inequalities of wealth, but one of differences in the degree of poverty. Therefore a social revolution is not needed. Others will say: the root of China's problem lies in povrerty, physical weakness, ignorance and selfishness, rather than in internal exploitation and foreign aggression. We consider these to be erroneous views and they should be corrected.

It is true that Chinese society at present has not yet entered into the capitalistic stage. But it is based on the principles of private property, laissez-faire and competition no less than the capitalistic society. And the exploitation, oppression and inequalities it has produced are no less than those produced in capitalistic society. A capitalistic society needs a social revolution; an under-produced, semi-feudalistic society also needs a social revolution. To look at it from a different angle: China need not go the way of capitalism, for it is a way which has proved to be a "no thoroughfare" to capitalistic nations. Again, China cannot go the way of capitalism, because imperialistic nations will not allow her to. Therefore, unless we want China to be degraded from its present semi-colonial status to that of a full colony, a social revolution is China's only way out.

We equally condemn as poor diognosis the description of China's troubles as consisting mainly in poverty, physical weakness, ignorance, and selfishness. We do not deny the existence of such phenomena, nor the need for their eradication. But a complete eradication of these evils mast be preceded by a

fundamental change of the system which has helped to produce them. To do this, we have, first, to resist the present imperialistic aggression, for, if China should become a subject nation, no radical reforms will be possible; second, to eliminate all those whose interest lies in the preservation of the *status quo*, for, as long as they are in power, they will certainly obstruct revolutionary changes. Unless we first deal with these two kinds of reactionary forces, nothing will effectively cure the maladies which have been mentioned.

This then is our conclusion. We need a social revolution. This revolution should begin with resistance against imperialistic aggression which is now threatening the very life of this country. In the process of the revolution, the people will be strengthened and united and, given the proper leadership, deepened and purified. The revolution itself with a regenerated people will then be able to throw out of power or to convert all reactionary forces, thus preparing the way for the building of a new social order. As to what this new order should be like, we cannot and do not need to discuss it now; it will have to depend on further developments. A blue print is not necessary at this time, so long as we are clear as to basic principles.

Such being our objective, we have to say that all those who are striving for the same goal with us are our fellow-workers, and all those who obstruct the realization of our objective should be coerced or won over for our cause. This will imply a social struggle, but a social struggle is unavoidable, for revolution is social struggle.

The objection has been raised that the Gospel of Jesus is a Gosspel of peace, and that therefore we should not advocate a social struggle. Again, this is a misinterpretation of the ethics of Jesus. Jesus stood for peace, but He also stood for justice. For this reason, He was most uncompromising toward the social evils of His time and toward their perpetrators, and that was a social struggle. It was the main cause of His being put to death. Real peace can only be built on justice.

There are also doubts with regard to the attitude we should take toward the State. Should Christians have a national consciousness? Should Christians be patriotic? We are against a narrow nationalism; we are also against the type of patriotism which has become the cat's paw of the property class. But we feel that the State has its place during the present stage of international development, and that a premature cosmopolitanism is too romantic to face present realities.

Finally, we should have some clear views concerning the problem of pacifism and violence.

First, we believe that Jesus Himself was an absolute pacifist. Because of His "reverence for personality"—to use the words of Albert Schweitzer—He would not use force to restrain or change the action of the party in opposition, even though he may be wrong. His injunction: "Resist not evil; whosoever smiteth thee on thy left cheek, turn to him the right cheek also," should be taken literally. But not to use force does not mean surrender, accommodation, or inaction. Jesus was *active* about exposing evils, only He would overcome evil with good. For, as we have seen, He demanded the harmony of means with ends.

There are views which deny that Jesus was an absolute pacifist, but their arguments are based on insufficient evidence.

Is Jesus' way, then, an effective way for dealing with social problems? We believe it is, though we do not take the word "effective" in its popular sense. Our difficulty lies in our inability to practice the way of love, not in its effectiveness. Such being the case, there are many different points of view as to what Jesus' ideal should mean to us in the present situation. The following are some of the outstanding ones:—

1. That the way of love is absolute and that whoever accepts it should do his utmost to practise it and to oppose whatever individual or group action is contrary to it.

2. That the way of love is absolute, but that since very few people have pledged themselves to it, whatever violence they use on behalf of truth and justice is right. As to those who have accepted the ideal, they should try to practise it themselves on the one hand and, on the other, to propagate it among those who have not accepted it. The pacifist's attitude toward others should not only be one of understanding, but also one of cooperation within the limit of his faith and convictions.

3. That the way of love is absolute as a principle but relative in its application to a particular situation because human beings can only approximate but not fully realise the ideal. For this reason, violence is right for anybody, provided it is for a good cause.

4. That violence in itself is neutral, and that therefore all violence used with the motive of love is right.

This is an exceedingly complicated problem which we are not ready to solve adequately. All we can do therefore is to state the different points of view so that we can give it more thought before attempting to arrive at a conclusion.

The Mission of the S.C.M.

The objective of the S.C.M. as formulated in 1927 is: "In the spirit of Jesus, to create fellowships of youth, to build sound character and to work for the emancipation and development of the life of the people." This objective, we believe, is still appropriate and challenging.

In the light of this objective, the mission of the S.C.M. in our opinion consists of the following:

1. To preach the "whole" gospel of Jesus—which means the gospel with God as its object of faith, the value of personality as its criterion for action, social and spiritual emancipation as its objective—and to help proclaim its challenges to this world.
2. To gain a realistic understanding of the present age in order to be able to face intelligently the big social problems before us and to search for ways in which the S.C.M. can make its contributions toward their solution.
3. To train for ability in collective action which could be applied to programs designed for accelerating social change, beginning from campus and gradually extending to the mass of people in a united front.
4. To cultivate personal growth in spirit, body and mind in such a way that they will be vitally related to the task before us, making those who have been disciplined by it staunch warriors for the new order.

CHAPTER III

THE CHALLENGE OF COMMUNISM IN CHINA

KIANG WEN-HAN

I. Historical Development of the Communist Movement.

The historical development of the Communist Movement in China may be divided into three pretty well-defined stages. The period 1919-1924 marks the origin and tentative beginnings. This was followed by open collaboration with the Kuomintang from 1924 to 1927. In April 1927 there was a definite rupture between the Communist Party and the National Government in Nanking. In the following seven or eight years, the Communists were driven to a sort of agrarian revolt in the interior and to various underground activities in the cities. We shall deal with each of these three periods more in detail in the following.

The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 had its repercussions in China. The National University of Peking, a very well-known institution that started the "New Culture Movement" and initiated the "May Fourth Student Movement", was the first to respond to the brand-new ideas of Marxism and Bolshevism. Two of the professors, Chen Tu-hsiu and Li Tao-chao, gathered around them a few young men and formed a society for the study of Marxism which later became the nucleus of the Communist movement in China. It should be remembered that the Communists in Russia had held "World Revolution" as one of their chief missions. They believed that the success of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia would soon be followed by a series of revolutions in the European capitalistic countries. Since this did not happen, the Third International began to shift its emphasis to the Orient. The Moscow strategists took a special interest in China as a possible bulwark against imperialist exploitation.

The first gesture of fraternal internationalism was shown on July 25, 1919 when the Soviet Government addressed a manifesto to the Chinese Nation as well as to the Chinese Government renouncing all the advantages, privileges and concessions extorted from China by the former Czarist regime, and representing the Soviets as "the only allies and brothers of the Chinese in

their struggle for freedom". This gesture had brought much eulogy to Russia from the Chinese people. The Third International in Moscow also sent Vertinsky as its representative to China to help to mould the original study-group of Marxism into a Communist Party which came into official existence in May 1921 in Shanghai. This Communist Party has kept up its affiliation and contact with Moscow ever since.

At that time, there was a radical split between the North and the South factions of China. Dr. Sun Yat-sen made several unsuccesseful attempts in South China to start a military expedition against the northern militarists so as to unify the country and put into practice his famous "Three Principles of the People". In this struggle for national emancipation, Dr. Sun early believed that he could not get any assistance from the imperialist Powers and therefore turned to Soviet Russia for counsel and support. In January 1923, M. Joffe and Dr. Sun met in Shanghai and issued a joint communique declaring Russia's sympathy and support to China's struggle for national unification and complete national independence. This formed the basis of the revolutionary cooperation between China and Russia. In August of the same year, Dr. Sun sent General Chiang Kai-shek, his Chief-of-Staff and confidential agent, to Moscow to discuss "ways and means whereby our friends there can assist in my work in this counrty". (Louis Fischer, "The Soviets in World Affairs" Vol. II, P.733) In September, Michael M. Borodin was appointed to Canton, ostensibly as Soviet Trade Commissioner. But he soon became High Advisor to the Kuomintang and was revered as the "Lafayette" of China.

Since there was close collaboration between Moscow and Canton, it was only natural that some kind of cooperation would be brought about between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in China. Dr. Sun was opposed to the idea of alliance with the Communists as a party but welcomed the principle of individual admission of the Communists into the Kuomintang. For although Dr. Sun welcomed the cooperation of the Communists in the fight against the common enemies, he still maintained the nationalist program of the Kuomintang. The principle of individual admission of the Communists was brought up for discussion during the First National Congress of the Kuomitang in March 1924 and favorably accepted. By this time, the Chinese Communist Party had a membership of more than two thousand. (over 300 in June 1922). (Wellington Koo, Memoranda Presented to the Lytten Commission, Vol. II,

PP. 729, 734) And their admission into the Kuomintang facilitated a phenomenal growth of the Communist influence in the following three years.

When Borodin arrived at Canton with his thirty Russian associates he found that Sun Yat-sen was in a very weak position. He advised against an immediate Northern expedition and offered his programme for strenthening the base of revolution. Generally speaking, there were three important features in his programme. The first was to reorganize the Kuomintang. He wanted to see a disciplined party to be the axis of the whole governmental system. He realized the hodge-podge class elements in the Kuomintang and he saw the personal ambitions of the various chinese leaders. But he wanted to struggle against these adverse forces by strenthening the Party and by injecting a fresh revolutionary spirit into the Party. The call of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1924 was a definite attempt toward this direction. The second feature in Borodin's programme was to develop a mass movement among the workers and peasants. He believed that the Kuomintang must be based on popular support. The Party should work for the interests and respond to the legitimate grievance of the peasants and the proletariat. Therefore, he encouraged the organization of labor-unions and peasant-leagues, and proposed to tolerate the confiscation by peasant communities of landlords' holdings with or without compensation, and to enforce the eight-hour working day and a minimum wage for the industrial workers. The third featere of Borodin's programme was to train a good fighting force in preparation for "a nationalist, democratic, anti-imperialist revolution". He helped to organize the well-known Whampoa Military Training Academy in Canton, early in 1924. Hundreds of students from all over the country gave up their regular school studies and flocked to this revolutionary "West Point" in China with a revolutionary zeal for "national emancipation". Borodin certainly represented "an idea, an inspiring force, a great revolutionary policy" at that time.

For three years, Kuomintang was definitely in alliance with Soviet Russia and openly made use of Russian advisors, money and techniques. The First National Congress of the Kuomintang adopted the following three policies: (1) Co-operation with Soviet Russia, (2) Collaboration with the Chinese Communist Party, and (3) A workers' and peasants' programme. The Communist International was also in favor of the Chinese Communist Party cooperating with the Kuomintang in order to present

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"a united democratic front". After being admitted into the Kuomintang, the Communists were able to work openly and reach the peasants, workers, and intellectuals on a large scale by the use of their skillful propaganda and tactics. In the meantime, the Communist school at Tashkent and the Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow were already attracting a number of Chinse students to be trained in the theory of Communism and the technique of revolutionary organization and propaganda. It is estimated that "from 1920 on, individual students were selected and sent to Russia in batches of at least 60 per year to receive a condensed six months' training, with expenses paid. By January 1, 1922, the university of agitation for the East in Moscow had 587 students enrolled, . . . and in 1926, . . . three hundred Chinese were thus being trained and a thousand were expected the following year." (Annals, Nov. 1930, P. 235)

The Kuomintang finally decided upon its Northern Expedition in 1926. General Chiang Kai-shek was appointed as commander-in-chief of the Expedition. The Russian military experts under the leadership of General Galen, otherwise known as Blucher, took a very active part in all the subsequent campaigns. They made effective use of propagandists as well as soldiers, posters as well as rifles. The Nationalist Army marched to the Yangtze Valley in a few months. Everywhere, they were welcomed by the masses. The Communists also lost no opportunity of organizing peasant leagues and trade unions whenever a new village or a new city was occupied. The ranks of the Communist Party were swelled into considerable proportions. It is estimated that in the early days of 1927, the Communist Party had about 90,000 followers. The Young Communist League had a membership of more than 60,000. The number of trade-union workers under the Communist influence amounted to 3,000,000 and the membership of the peasant-leagues was 10,000,000.

The Nationalist Government was removed from Canton to Hankow early in 1927, while General Chiang Kai-shek, who had already developed some fear of the domination of the Communists and the excesses of the Communist activities, was conducting the Expedition in the direction of Nanking and Shanghai. Two things happened at this time which eventually resulted in a rupture between the Kuomintang and the Communists. In the years 1926 and 1927 there was much discussion about the Chinese policy in Moscow. The Trotzky group urged for a more radical policy in Hankow and for immediate sovietization

of South and Central China. They raised the slogans of "Undermine Hankow" and "Soviets for China". But both Stalin and Borodin were not in favor of this premature social revolution and maintained the thesis of "continued collaboration within the Kuomintang". But the leaders of the Trotzky Opposition, especially Radek, had much influence in Moscow and with the Chinese Communist Party. The situation was so acute that it became one of the chief considerations for Borodin's withdrawal from the Hankow Government.

Then there was the open rupture between General Chiang Kai-shek and the Hankow Government. Another National Government was organized by General Chiang in Nanking on April 18, 1927. A series of proclamations was issued to initiate a drastic purgation of the Communists from the Kuomintang. In the meantime, the Hankow Government found the activities of the Communists had gone out of their control, The workers' and peasants' movement had developed into dangerous riots, mass agitation, seizures of land, and insurrection of military forces. Borodin was put in a very embarrasing situation. Furthermore, Borodin received secret instructions from the more radical group in Russia urging him to distribute arms among the proletariat so as to make it an independent support of a radical policy. Apparently these secret instructions aroused much distrust and suspicion on the part of the Left Wing Kuomintang leaders in Hankow. The result was that Borodin had to leave in July 1927, and that the Communists had to be dismissed from their positions in the Government and the Army. The Third International and the Chinese Communist Party were pursuing a policy which the Left Kuomintang leaders could not approve. And there was real danger that the Kuomintang would be undermined by the Communist elements.

Soon after the departure of Borodin and the expulsion of the Communists, the Kuomintang leaders of Hankow and Nanking were brought together again. A united Government was thus definitely established in Nanking. But the expulsion of Communists was also followed by serious Communist agitations. Some of the troops under the control of the Hankow Government were deeply infected by Communist propaganda. When the Hankow Government formally declared its policy of expulsion, they resorted to open revolts and establishment of local Soviet Governments in different parts of the country. From 1927 up to the present, the communists have continually harassed the interior parts of the country with their own troops and their

own government in open rebellion against the Government in Nanking. Meanwhile the Trotzky Opposition was suppressed by Stalin in Russia. And the Chinese Communist Party also went into the control of those who were following Stalin's instructions in supporting the agrarian revolutions of the sovietized districts. The influence of the Tortzky group in China became almost negligible when its outstanding leader, Chen Tu-hsiu, was arrested by the Nanking Government in October 1932.

II. The Spread of Communism.

Communism is now proscribed as an illegal movement in China. But its influence continues to spread throughout the country. There are two important phases in this spread of Communism One is the sovietization of rural districts and the other is the "proletarianization" of city youth. Some of the urban industries have been honeycombed with secret Communist 'cells' but this phase of development has not been as successful or as significant as the other two. The Chinese industries have not fully developed and moreover, most of the modern industries in the 'port' cities are under the strict control of foreign investors. It is estimated that the industrial proleteriat numbers between one and a half and two and a half million. Most of these in the textile factories are women and children who generally make poor revolutionary material. (Fischer, Vol. II. P. 660).

Let us first examine what is happening in the sovietization of rural districts. As was mentioned above since the rupture between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in 1927, some of the Communist troops retreated to the interior and started to organize local Soviet governments. At that time, Nanking was busy in the drive against Peking, and the opportunity afforded a breathing-space for the strengthening of the Communist troops in the interior. Not until November 1930 did the Government in Nanking think seriously of directing a military campaign to check the spread of the Communist influence. Several campaigns have been conducted to suppress the Communists in Central and South China but most of them have proved to be a failure.

A provisional government of the Chinese Soviet Republi was organized at Suichin in Kiangsi on November 7, 1931. It is of course difficult to delimit accurately the area under the Soviet control because it expands and contracts in accordance with the exigencies of the military struggle with the Nanking troops. But the basic center of Soviet administration for the last four or five years has been in eastern Kiangsi and western Fukien. Since

the fall of the Red Capital in November 1934, there is an obvions retreat of the Communist influence into the West and the Northwest. Early in 1932 it was estimated that the then Soviet administration probably covered about one-sixth of the area of China proper, with a population of 90,000,000. A more conservative estimate suggests that about 50,000,000 people were normally living under the Soviet control. (Quoted in Bisson's article in The China Weekly Review, June 3, 1933.) The size of the Red Army has been estimated at somewhere between 200,000 to 300,000. According to a Japanese report, the Red Army is made up of the following elements: peasants, 58%, mutinied troops and deserters 28%, laborers 5.75%, vagabonds and bandits 8.25%. (Quoted in Sokolsky's article in "Asia" Dec. 1932). The two outstanding leaders of the Sovist area, Mao Tze-tung and Chu Teh, are returned students from France and Germany respectively. The Red armies have developed a special strategy of guerilla warfare which has caused most of the Government campaigns to be entirely futile. The Government troops have been regarded by them as their "munition transports".

How is the process of Sovietization conducted in the rural areas? When a district is occupied by the Communists, the first step is to call a meeting of soldiers, workers and farmers in order to set up a local Soviet government. The first local Soviet government was set up in Haifeng, Kwantung, in November 1927. Since then, more than 500 such local and regional Soviet governments have been set up. But they exist and disappear according to the military fortunes of the Communist troops. After a new local Soviet government is set up in a district, the "agrarian reforms" are immediately set in motion. They first confiscate all the land and property belonging to the landlords and the big proprietors without any compensation. All the land registers, title-deeds, and contracts are burned, and boundaries of the fields are destroyed so as to remove all traces of the rights of the original proprietors. The land belonging to ancestral temples and other places of worship is usually included in the general confiscation. Then the local Soviet re-divides the land among all able-bodied farmers without distinction of sex. In this redistribution of land, the soldiers of the Red Army generally enjoy special considerations and their portions of land are cultivated by other people under supervision of the local Soviet. The aged and the invalids have no claim on land but are taken care of by measures of social relief. Finally, the local Soviet makes a clean sweep of all the gentry, the landlords, and anti-revolutionary elements. This has often been carried out by relentless measures.

The Communists are most skillful in propaganda and organization. Everywhere they go, they propagandize and organize. The peasants in the Soviet districts have been awakened to a new life and a new hope. They are called to frequent mass meetings to be taught that the Soviet government is working for the interests of the poor and that the Red armies are the fighting forces belonging to them. It is only natural that the poor farmers who have suffered from heavy taxation, economic injustice, and constant exploitation of the local gentry and local officials, welcome the Communists with open arms and open hearts. They are not only relieved from economic burdens; their social and political status is also greatly uplifted. In certain districts, the Communists have not only suceeded in sovietizing the administration, their administrative policy has in turn succeded in sovietizing the minds of the rural people. In the Soviet area, the local Soviets were formerly all linked up with the Central Government at Suichin. Within this area the former system of exorbitant taxation was said to have been abolished. A new system of progressive land tax was introduced resting most heavily on the more well-to-do peasants. Private property however was allowed to exist after the re-distribution of land. The Soviets also had their own banking and postal system. Their bank-notes and postage stamps generally bore the portraits of Lenin and Marx. If there were any industrial enterprises such as printing shops, small arsenals, and mines, the eight-hour working day was strictly enforced. The Soviet regime also prohibited the cultivation, and the use of opium together with traffic in it. Much attention was put in to promoting mass education, collective farming, and other public works. All the political and military leaders live very simply and are friendly to the common peasants. Of course, they are very ruthless to those who are opposed to them.

We must now turn to the "proletarianization" of city youth. How has Communism come to have an alluring appeal to the educated youth? The educated youth have always been the leading souls of the Communist movement in China. The Chinese Communist Party was first started by a group of young men who took an interest in the study of Marxism in Peiping. And then scores of students went to Russia to be trained in revolutionary principles and technique and later came back to undertake important tasks in the Chinese Communist Party. Scores of others who had their education in other European countries also fell into line with Communism. They have participated in all sorts of activities, such as agitation in mission schools, conducting strikes in city factories, organizing trade-unions and peasant-

leagues, and holding mass meetings. The son of Chen Tu-hsiu, the founder of the Chinese Communist Party, was also a "returned" student from Europe. When he returned to Canton some years ago, he pulled a ricksha in order to get influence over the ricksha pullers in his labor organizing activities.

The Young Communist League was especially the rallying-center of the more passionate and zealous group of students in the Golden Pariod of 1926-1927. The membership of the League must have run close to 100,000. After the rupture between the Kuomintang and the Communists in 1927, the Government in Nanking adopted very stern measures in suppressing Communism. Numerouse "colored" students have been rounded up and dragged to the execution ground, shouting "Down with the Kuomintang! . . . Long live the Communist Party! . . ." Not long ago, the niece of a well-known educator in China was arrested as a Communist. She was given the chance to recant but scorned to accept it. The penalty of her fidelity to Communism was death. On the eve of her execution a group of relatives visited her in her cell. She alone was calm during the ordeal of farewell. "You are weeping", she said, "for me. You should weep for yourselves. I am dying for a Cause, you will go on living--for what?" (Barnett's article in the Chinese Recorder, June 1933) This is but one sample of hundreds of other young martyrs who have died like that for Communism in China since 1927.

In spite of the repressive policy of the Government, the undercurrent of Communism still remains very strong among educated youth. There are daring souls who are willing to run the risk and take the consequences of following Communism. Their actual number in the colleges and schools is unknown because they have to conduct their activities in absolute secrecy. We may however discover an increasing number of the so-called "left deviationists" by studying the thought life of the students in general. These "left deviationists" may not be members of the Communist Party at all, but their thought life is definitely against the status quo and in line with Communism.

We will now examine some of the reasons that lead students to turn to Communism. First of all, it is because of a real conviction comparable to a religious faith. A number of students are fascinated by the ideas of class struggle, dialectic materialism, and Marxian economics. They believe that the world is moving towards socialism. Capitalism, owing to its innate and apparent contradictions and deficiences, will inevitably give place to socialism in the same way as monarchism had to give place to

democracy. The following thesis is typical of their standpoint. "There is a clear-cut class distinction between the proletariat and the bourgeois, and the present social order is being controlled by the latter for its own profit, therefore some social change is absolutely necessary." The question is by whom and how the change should be brought about. Their answer is that the change should be brought about by the proletariat because they are the people under exploitation. And since history shows that no exploiting class can be talked out of their privileged position, this change must necessarily and expeditiously be brought about by force and violence. Now we can see that although Communism is no religion by name, it functions essentially as a religion, and that although it repudiates all gods, it has created a god of the godless. The students flock to it with religious fervor, pure and simple,

Secondly, the Communist Party and the Communist propaganda have a very effective appeal to the students in China. The secret nature and the strict discipline of the Party organization suit very well the adventurous spirit of the students. It calls forth a self-sacrificing enthusiasm to risk everything for the submerged classes. Individuals are subservient to collective will of the Party, The Communists have very clever devices in disseminating their propaganda, In spite of the strict censorship of the Government, their literature still finds its way into the hands of the Chinese students. For instance, one may come across a book with a cover entitled "Paul, the Friend of Youth", published by the "Christian Literature Society, Shanghai, 1930", and be surprished to find on the first page that it is really the "Communist International Monthly". However, the most significant development is the growth of the Proletarian Culture Movement. In 1926, there was started a controversy over the nature and purpose of literature. The Leftist writers maintained that culture is the product of social conditions and economic precesses of a definite epoch. So they disavowed the conceptions of "art for art's sake" and "literature for literature's sake", and declared that art and literature should identify themselves with the sweat and toil of the oppressed. Even under the strict ban of the Government, Communist writers have found expression for their ideology and convictions through novels and translated works During the last few years, our book market has been flooded with books on social sciences of which a large percentage deal with Marxian Socialism.

Thirdly, the apparent spectacular success of the Communist experiment in Soviet Russia has been very alluring to the minds

of Chinese students. During recent years, there has been published a large number of books and magazine articles on various phases of Soviet Russia. They are generally the best sellers in the book market. These books and magazine articles deal not so much with the theoretical aspect of Communism but chiefly with the actual developments in Soviet Russia. These factual presentations have proved to be very effective in leading the minds of the Chinese youth to turn constantly to the question of social reconstruction. Especially when they set before themselves the sharp contrast between the capitalist West and the socialist Russia, their feelings and sympathies are spontaneous, ly with the latter and not with the former. In this connection- it is interesting to note also the recent change of content and technique of the Chinese motion pictures. In former years, the subject matter of the Chinese motion pictures was chiefly drawn from historic tales and mythological legends. But recently there has been a sharp turn to an emphasis of very definitely realistic and socialistic in nature. Several noted productions, such as "Two Sisters" "Spring Silkworm", "Fisherman's Song", "Shanghai Nights", have attracted huge crowds all over the country. And all of them are an attempt to present the sharp contrast between the misery of the poor workers and peasants and the exploitation and callousness of the corrupt officials and the rich capitalists. Like most of the pictures from Soviet Russia, sex appeal and the romantic element are reduced to the minimum, whereas social contradictions are set forth in clear relief.

Fourthly, there is a growing discontent with the "status quo" and an eager desire for some fundamental social reconstruction. Politically, the "status quo" is being maintained by the Party dictatorship of the Kuomintang. But the Kuomintang, comprising about 400,000 members (amounting to about one-thousandth of the total population) has gradually lost its popularity, and the confidence of the people. Many feel that it has failed to achieve unity among the leaders within the Party, failed to put up an effective resistance against the Japanese military aggression, failed to relieve the peasants from the heavy burden of taxation and the exploitation of the local gentry and corrupt officials and that it has suppressed even legitimate mass movements and designed a policy of regimentation in matters of thought and organization, surrendered to the financial power of the capitalists, and compromised with the insatiate demands of the imperialists. These charges are perhaps exaggerated and one-sided, but "hatred of evil is often a more powerful incentive than love of good". Then another source of exasperation comes from problems of a

more personal nature. The term "way-out" is a very popular one in student circles. What is the "way-out" after graduation? The problem of unemployment of the intellectuals has become very serious nowadays. The more thoughtful students begin to ask whether the personal "way-out" should not be solved by first finding a way-out for the social order, and whether there can be any real way-out if they only aim at a personal solution. This line of thinking often gives Communism an opportunity to offer itself as a counsel of despair.

III. Combatting Communism.

The influence of Communism seems to be spreading far and wide in the rural areas and among city youth. The National Government in Nanking is determined to combat Communism by military suppression. During the last five years, Nanking has initiated a series of six expeditions against the armed Communists in Kiangsi. The first expedition was launched in December 1930 but it ended in complete failure. Then in February 1931 the Minister of War, General Ho Ying-ching, took command of about 200,000 men in person and started the second anti-Communist expedition in Kiangsi. But the Communist troops were so firmly entrenched in the mountainous regions and were so clever in employing their special strategy of guerilla warfare that the Government troops were nearly cut to pieces and suffered considerable losses in men and munitions. In the middle of June 1931, General Chiang Kai-shek himself went to Kiangsi and assumed field direction of operations in the third anti-Communist campaign. Apparently he achieved some real success in recapturing a large section of Soviet Areas but a general withdrawal had to be affected following the crisis in Manchuria in the fall of 1931. Later the "undeclared war" with the Japanese in Shanghai also made it difficult for Nanking to undertake any concerted drive against the Red forces. In the meantime, the Communists took advantage of the situation and reoccupied all the territories evacuated by the Nanking troops. Aprovisional government of the "Soviet Republic" was also set up at this time. In the summer and autumn of 1932 General Chiang prosected the fourth anti-Communist campaign in Kiangsi, but it was again interrupted by the Japanese aggression in North China in the spring of 1933. After the the "Tanku Truce" with Japan, General Chiang become free to engage in the fifth anti-Communift campaign in the autumn but it was again interfered with qy an attemdt to set dp an independent "Peoples' Government" in Fukien. Soon aften this rebellion

was suppressed, General Chiang started has sixth anti-Communist campaign which finally succelded to capture the Red Capital, Suichin, on Nov. 10, 1934 and cleared up all the Communist clements from Kiangsi and Fukien. But not all the Communists have been exterminated. The bulk of the Red armies have sueceded to retreat to the Western Provinces such as Kweichow and Sxechwan. The suppressing campaign has ky no means come to an end.

In counteracting the fighting strategy of the Red Army, the Government troops have also developed a fighting strategy which has brought much success in recovering the Soviet areas. In the first place, whele the Communists were still in Kiangsi, they established a strict economic blockade to assist the military opearation, The Soviet areas we e specially shot of salt, amunition and medical supplies. The blockade made the supply of these necessities extremely difficult. The the Government troops also built a lond chain of "blockhouses" in all the districts recoved from the Communists so as to serve as fortresses and observation-posts. Besides the superiority in equipment and in numbers, the wide use of airplanes and the extensive building of new roads all contributed to the success of the Government troops in Kiangsi. However, the real menace is not Communism but the causes of Communism. As long as these causes exist, there is no real solution of Communism. The question is, Can Communism be exterminated by military suppression alone? General Chiang realizes that it cannot, when he says that the problem is only three parts military and seven parts political. And the facts of the last five years have proved the truth of the common saying, that "the more the Government suppresses the Reds, the more Reds there are".

During the last two years there has been much talk of the existence of a "Bule Shirts Movement" in China. This is perhaps a replica of the "Brown Shirts" and the "Black Shirts" in Fascist countries in Europs. It is also said that this movement is definitely sponsored by some of the powerful leaders of the Kuomintang. Their main purpose is to consolidate the authority of the present regime and suppress opposition of any kind. It has secret agents in the different colleges and schools to watch for "colored" students and report them to the authorities. Many Communist students have been spirited away by their methods. In Shanghai, several motion picture factories which produce socialistic pictures, have been destroyed by Fascist agents. Some book shops had to close and many

proletarian writers had to take refuge abroad because of these activities. The Fascists now publish a number of weeklies and magazines to promote the ideas of Fascism, dictatorship and the so-called "nationalistic literature" in opposition to "proletarian literature".

But Fascisn in China has not much spirit or content. It is not a spontaneous movement of the people. It is largely a reaction and a repressive policy. Under these circumstances, the people have become engrossed in a general state of apathy and indifference. Realizing the necessity of a new national consciousness and a mass psychology, General Chiang Kai-shek started what is called "The New Life Movement" in March 1934. General Chiang writes in his "Outline of the New Life Movement" that "The aim of the New Life Movement is the social regeneration of China." " The New Life Movement aims at the promotion of a regular life by the four virtues, Li, I, Lien, and Chih, (propriety, Righteousness, Honesty, and Conscienciousness). These virtues must be applied to ordinary matter, such as food, clothing. shelter, and action," "When these virtues prevail, even if food and clothing are temporarily insufficient, they can be produced by man-power; or, if the granary is empty, it can be filled through human effort. On the other hand, when these virtues are not observed, there will be robbery and beggary in time of need; and from a social point of view robbery and beggary can never achieve anything. Social order is based on these virtues. When there is order, then everything can be done properly; but when everything is in confusion, very little can be achieved. Today robbers are ussally most numerous in the wealthiest cities of the world. This is an obvious illustration of confusion caused by non-observance of virtues. The fact that our country has traitors and communists, as well as corrupt officials shows that we, too, have neglected the cultivation of virtues, and if we are to recover; these virtues must be adopted as the principles of a new life".

This New Life Movement became a furore for a while. But the people only took a passive interest in it. The promotion and organization of the movement are generally in the hands of the local government and the local branch of the Kuomintang. There is now organized a National Association in Nanking, for its general promotion and guidance. But some of the following questions are puzzling the minds of many of the thinking people in regard to the New Life Movement. (1) "Example is the best teacher". Is not that the New Life is more needed in

the Government and Party circles than among the common people? (2) The content of New Life Movement is really an essential part in moral living; but does it offer any solution to the immediate Nstional Crisis? (3) Can such an educational movement be successful by merely working through political organizations? (4) Does the "spiritlessness" of the people come from economic sufferings or from moral degeneration?

Aside from the Government's efforts in combatting the spread of Communism, there are two leading thinkers who represent two general trends that are not Communistic, or more accurately are anti-communistic. The first is Dr. Hu Shih and the Other is Liang Sou-ming. Dr. Hu is a returned student from the United States. He is generally known as the father of the Chinese Literary Renaissance Movement. He advocates very strongly the necessity of Westernization of China. He believes that "motor-car civilization" is superior to "ricksha civilization" and that there is almost nothing in Oriental civiil-zation that is really worthy of preservation. He urges the Chinese people to confess their own weakness so that they may be better able to learn. He wants people to talk less about "isms" but to discuss "problems" more. He is an avowed follower of Dewey and Huxley. He believes in gradual evolution and not violent revolution. In one of his recent articles, he pointed out that the trouble with China today is not due to the existence of imperialism or feudalism but due to the existence of five fundamental social evils, namely, poverty, ignorance, corruption, disease, and disorder. But the majority of the people find it hard to reconcile themselves to this line of thinking. They agree with Dr. Hu in so far as these are the apparent evils of the Chinese social system, but they do not regard them as fundamental. The fundamental wrong they think is with the social 'system' itself, in which they find themselves entrenched, and unless the 'system' is changed, they are convinced that these evils are inevitable. The evils of an entrenched social system, they feel, cannot be remedied piecemeal or by pathwork measures.

Liang Sou-ming is a poilosopher who has become a rural reformer. Unlike Dr. Hu Shih, he has never studied abroad. He is one of those who were greatly disillusioned about Western civilization by the European. War He is a great promoter of Confucian philosophy. He believes that China has a unique contribution to make in world civilization. He does not believe in Democracy nor does he believe in Communism. He thinks that

many material and psychological conditions in China are definitely against the success of either. With regard to Communism, he thinks that there is no basis in China for class struggle, no definite objective for revolution, and that the Chinese society is bound together by personal sentiments and ethical "mores" and not merely by economic interests. Toleration and moderation are the characteristics of the Chinese people. They have an innate aversion to fanaticism and discipline which are the elementary requisites in a Communistic social order Mr. Liang believes that the real solution of the difficulties of the Chinese people lies in rural reconstruction. The mistake in the past has been the divorce of the educated class from the rural people. So, the solution lies in encouraging the educated people to go to the rural districts to link up with the rural people. For the last three years, Mr. Liang himself has settled down in a rural district in Shantung and started a very intensive programme of rural reconstruction. His experiment is being supported and sponsored by the Provincial Government. At present, there is a mushroom growth of concentrated rural experiments in different parts of the country. The question is whether these isolated experiments working under the protection and some of them under the financial support of the present Government will eventually prove to be a real solution of social reconstruction, or whether they will only help to build up a magnificent system that in the end will have to be pulled down again?

IV. Christianity and Communism in China.

Generally speaking, organized Christianity in China has taken very little interest in the question of social reconstruction. Its chief emphasis is an individualistic one. The Watchword of the "Five Year Movement" of the National Christian Council is a typical representation of this emphasis; "Lord, revive Thy Church beginning from me". There are people who believe that the chief concern of Christianity is with the "spiritual" life of the people and that "social" questions should be left to take care of themselves. There are also people who believe that it is useless to attempt any social program since Jesus Christ is coming back again soon. There are other people who think that all social evils are due to personal "sins" and that unless individuals are saved there is no hope for betterment of society. All these people naturally condemn the Communists as sons of the devil and regard Communism as a brutal destructive force of society.

What are the general reactions among Christians within this beautiful but socially impotent framework of church organizations? One group of them, perhaps the largest group in numbers, turns to emotionalized evangelism. They give up hope of this world and find their emotional release in mass singing, dramatic confessions, faith healing and wild ecstacies. There are several Chinese evangelists who attract huge crowds in different parts of the country with this kind of emotional appeal. The more simple-minded Christians and the younger students, especially junior middle school girls, flock to the revivalistic meetings like hungry souls. Another group of Christians is of a more practical type. They attempt to interpret religion in terms of life. In other words, they believe that an effective religion must function in all life situations. They seek to apply Christran principles in family life, social life, national life and industrial relations. They often conduct certain definite social projects such as rural expeimentation. But they generally do not have any clear concept of, or any determined effort to set up a specified social order.

Then there is still another group of Christians who are definitely "social" minded and want to make Christianity socially dynamic. They are sympathetic to the social passion, the sacrificial spirit, and the methodical efficiency of the Communists, and felt ashamed of the inertia, the indifference and the otherworldliness of organized Christianity. The following are what they enumerate as the mistakes of organized Christianity in regard to its social mission: (1) It pays more attention to individuals than to society; (2) It looks more at parts of the situation than at the whole landscape; (3) It deals more in general principles than in concrete plans; (4) It tends more to be subjective than objective; (5) It is utopian rather than scientific; (6) It thinks in terms of reforms rather than reconstruction. In order to achieve its mission, Christianity they feel must adopt a new approach and method which will correct the above mistakes. There are a few cases where Christians have become disappointed with Christianity and turned to Communism. I know of one Christian student in one Christian University who actually became a Communist and was later killed by Government authorities. When he was in high school he was a very earnest and pious Christian. But he soon came to the conclusion that Christianity was too slow to solve social and national problems. He said that it only took the Communists a few years to create a Socialist Russia whereas Christianity had failed to make a Christian world in two thousand years. He

had at first only a few fellow-students to listen to him about his Communist ideas but he soon gathered around him a regular group of about sixty in the university.

Now what are some of the Communists' criticisms in regard to Christianity in China? The Communists in China are definitely anti-religious. Religion has practically been dismissed from their minds as unworthy of consideration. But there are generally two criticisms especially in regard to Christianity. The first is that they maintain that religion is the opiate of the people. Religion is a deadly poison that "beclouds the minds of the people, who stop seeing the world as it is, and see it as it appears to the befogged". " Religion teaches the virtues of patience and meakness, and thus undermines revolutionary passion; it induces the preletariat to bear their misery patiently, without revolting and fighting for a better existence". "By the promise of a better future world, religion depreciates the present life; it weakens the energy which is required to establish a better order on earth; religion underestimates earthly pleasures and earthly welfare". The other general critisism is that Christianity is the tool of capitalist and imperialist exploitation. Especially in China where the Christian mission enterprise is frequently accused of being intimately involved in the development and the maintenance of the "unequal treaties", this criticism is usually very effective. Christianity is thus regarded as a social force working to conserve the 'status quo' and is therefore considered an obstacle to the building of a new social order.

CHAPTER IV.

CHRISTIANITY AND CHINA'S RURAL RENAISSANCE

Y. P. MEI.

I. Background of National Rural Reconstruction

It has become a commonplace to observers that China is, in a special sense, undergoing a period of transition. What the West has accomplished in centuries China has set herself to achieve in as many decades. The impact of this necessary "telescoping" procedure is comparable to the rise of nationalism and democracy, the industrial revolution, and the Reformation in the modern history of Europe—all rolled into one. And all this is to happen in a country with a quarter of the total population of the world, a vast area, and the longest history of all the nations now in existence! The proposition is nothing short of overwhelming!

Yet China is not to be left to work out this complicated problem of harmonizing civilizations in peace. Foreign interference increases internal disorder. And the unprecedented Japanese aggression of the last few years brings the period to a climax. Though affected by the intense feeling of the humiliation and indignation of their country, the reaction of the leading and influential classes is in a constructive direction. They and the National Government, which they influence, realize that the primary need in China is to rejuvenate her national spirit and recover her national strength, political, social, and spiritual as well as material. Foreign aggression and exploitation must be done away with, but the most fundamental and lasting result will come through internal national integrity.

"Transition" is cut of date as a key word to the problem and situation in China. The present period is no longer one of gradual transition—it is a national crisis. Neither can the program be one of piece-meal reform but one of organic regeneration through reconstruction. If the problem of China's transition looked overwhelming, the task of her nation-wide

reconstruction under unprecedented external pressure seems well-nigh impossible. But the best minds in China agree that this is her only way out, and increasingly robust, self-forgetting energies are being consecrated to this end. Whether China can finally succeed in this desperate attempt will depend on future developments in her internal situation as well as in international relations. At least the conviction is clear that if the combination of China's efforts and circumstances enables her to accomplish this gigantic task, it will be the best thing possible not only for her own welfare but also for that of other nations.

II. Significance of National Rural Reconstruction

The need for national reconstruction in China has been patent for some time. But it came into the full consciousness of the nation only recently—when China was compelled to test her national strength against foreign invasion. The apparent prosperity of port cities like Shanghai is grossly misleading as a sign of the general condition of the nation. A much truer indicator of China's insecure economic position might be found in the tremendous annual import surplus. It has gone up to hundreds of millions of dollars and is still rapidly on the increase. If the huge sums that the nation spends on foreign goods had gone into the purchase of machinery and machine products, it would have seemed reasonable for an agricultural nation undergoing the process of industrialization. But, as a matter of fact, the items heading the imports' list are cotton goods, cotton, and rice! The significance of this is tremendous for China; it augurs bankruptcy for her rural communities and people, and that involves over 85% of her total population. Furthermore, the significance of the disintegration of rural life may not be limited to what is considered economic. The rural people have been not only producers of food and clothes for the nation, but they have also been the stronghold of China's indigenous culture and spirit. Unless the welfare of this class of people is attended to at once, China will be in danger of losing not only her body but also her soul. Considering the urgency and scope of this situation, national reconstruction in China may be said to be essentially *rural* reconstruction.

The deplorable condition of the rural communities is sad to describe. To mention here only the most obvious phases, we might point to the crushing burdens under which most farmers have to live and work. Interest on borrowed capital is exorbitant, land rent high, and taxes are very much out of proportion

to their earnings. Then there is the constant hazard of war, pestilence, and famine to which they are helplessly exposed; and famine means starvation. Few are the years when the farmer is neither visited by a flood nor a drought, and during those few years he may find his grain a burden rather than a boon. The farmer's earning power is of course extremely limited, the average annual income for a family of five in North China being estimated at $150. Mex. His own physical exertion and the uncontrollable cooperation of the "weather man" are his only means of livelihood. Neither machinery nor scientific findings are accessible to him. He has not been taught to handle direct marketing or any cooperative undertaking. More often than not he has never attended any school, and if he can read at all he is exceptional. Elements of citizenship of a highly organized society are not known to him, neither is he protected against the recurrent epidemics and diseases. While his burden is heavy and earning small, his family tends to be large. Birth-control has never entered his mind, because he feels it is neither possible nor permissible. As a result the handsome estate of the grand-father is reduced to an acre a piece when it is divided up among his twenty grand-children. Putting it all in all, no matter how much he exerts himself, the Chinese farmer is a helpless victim—at the mercy of heaven and earth, as well as the systems of his fellowmen!

III. Nation-wide Consciousness of Rural Reconstruction

It is gratifying to observe that an ever increasing company of the best minds and hearts have come to devote themselves to the cause of rural reconstruction. Dr. James Y. C. Yen's mass education experimentation station at Tinghsien is receiving increasing attention in China as well as abroad. In fact, the matter of having to entertain constant visitors has become quite a problem with his staff. The projects that are being worked out at Tsouping and Hotze, Shantung, under the moving spirit of Mr. Liang Su-min are being watched with interest and moral support. Mr. Liang is a Buddhist-Confucian philosopher of considerable renown who has left his chair of philosophy in the National Peking University to conduct rural reconstruction experiments, first in Honan and now in Shantung. The influence of his example over the students and young intellectuals is considerable. The attempts at self-defence and self-government carried on at Chenping, Honan, and Peip'ei, Szechwan are both successful and remarkable. Kwangsi, in spite of its distances, is attracting

attention because of its colonization experiment and self-defence organization on a provincial scale. Of special interest to readers of this article is the Kiangsi Christian Rural Service Union station at Lichwan, where some eight or ten Christian college men and women are offering their loving service to the rural population in the heart of that once Communist region.

Results of the research work carried on by institutions like the College of Agriculture of Nanking University are applied in extension with a high degree of certainty and profit. Village cooperatives for one purpose or another have been organized, mainly under the direction of the China International Famine Relief Commission. The more enlightened banks are beginning to invest among rural commuities. Influential papers and magazines devote considerable space to articles and editorials on the rural situation. Foreign experts along the different lines of activity have been invited to make studies and offer suggestions. An unusual exhibit of a collection of paintings on rural life and country scenery, which a young artist has made on a tour specially for this purpose through the rural regions of Hopei, has been held all over the country. He is now devoting himself to similar subjects at Lichwan. Other educational organizations like the National Association of Vocational Education have already extended their activities into the rural field, and several national and private universities are also attempting to make heir contribution in this general direction. A number of overnment agencies have been created to improve rural conditions, notably the popular education institutes and the country normal schools. The experimental district (hsien) government project constutes almost a movement by itself but has, of course, a very direct bearing on rural life. The vast regions in China's Northwest and the extensive areas just reclaimed from Communist occupation in Kiangsi offer practically unlimited opportunities along this line. The keen interest of the National Government may be further witnessed in the inauguration of the National Economic Council in the autumn of 1931, in the program of which rural reconstruction stands as one of the five chief items; and in the summer of 1933 the installation of a specific Commission on Rural Reconstruction. In both of these councils the chief executives of the Government play a leading role.

It would be futile to attempt in this brief article to give an exhaustive list of the agencies and activities going on in this direction. In fact it may be impossible to do so at all. All of

those listed above have had their beginnings within the last ten years; most of them in the last five or three years. Practically every week one hears of some additional spontaneous member born to the movement. The air is filled with happenings having something to do with it. Mere mention has been made in this paragraph of some of the more organized agencies in the field to give an idea as to how live and urgent an issue rural reconstruction is among the Chinese public today.

IV. National Rural Work Conference

Special reference may profitably be made to the National Rural Work Conference held last autumn. The national holiday of October 10 was as happily chosen for the time of the Conference as Tinghsien, the place. It was a spontaneous gathering of those actually engaged in some phase of the movement and those keenly interested. This was the second in the series, the first having been held in Tsouping in the summer of 1933. There was no formal organization, and ordinary newspaper announcements served in many cases as invitation to the Conference. Yet no less than 150 delegates were present representing some seventy-five organizations. Some of them came from as far as Szechwan and Kwangsi, Kansu and Suiyuan. Ministries and Commissions of the Central Government, local educational bureaus and hospitals, universities and schools, banks and newspapers,—these and other organizations were all represented. Busy and responsible people who would offer anything as an excuse to get out of a committee meeting or conference flocked to Tinghsien without invitation.

To this Conference people came to learn and listen. They were eager to find out the other person's experiment, achievements and plans, hopes and fears. There was a free and unrestrained give-and-take. The three days were packed with reports and discussions, yet all gave attention and none showed impatience. These reports opened one's eyes to the actual scope and significance of the movement. No resolutions were passed and no measures adopted. But the feeling of mutual concern and understanding and the eagerness to become acquainted with the other person and his work would be hard to equal at any other gathering. Delegates came as strangers; they went away as members of a fellowship. They came in anxiety; they left with new hopes, and a new vision, new meaning of their mission. They came with a sense of the true proportion of the movement and therefore of the need of cooperation, and together they studied the possibilities.

The outstanding impression from the Conference was the zeal and vigor with which each delegate presented his work. Whether it be the vaccination of a village against small pox or the reorganization of the police corps in a district government, the work was carried on with conviction and courage. From the looks of those people one could see that they regarded their work as a charge and a mission. There was something sacred and constraining about it. It was not a job they were doing but a cause they were trying to serve. They were men with vigor and vitality; they were men with faith and religion, disclaim it as some of them may. At the last session of the Conference, Dr. James Yen, in his prophetic manner, very aptly closed his address by holding up the Conference picture and declaring that he sincerely believed that that picture would occupy a page in the history of New China. Those who have thought over the matter thoroughly would agree that there is no extravagance in the statement.

V. Rural Reconstruction Essentially Spiritual and Religious

The rural reconstruction movement has thus far been constituted by spontaneous individual agencies, each covering from a village to a few districts. Anything in this direction is all to the good, but to deal with the rural situation as a national problem, rural reconstruction must be launched on a national scale. It is because of this realization that the National Government has recently inaugurated the Economic Council,and,more specifically, the Commission on Rural Reconstruction.

The success of a national rural reconstruction program to meet the manifold needs of the rural communities must depend on the adequacy of resources and funds, plans and projects, and trained personnel. The expenses involved in launching such a nation-wide program must necessarily be considerable. Much of the money spent, however, will really be capital invested. And one of the hopes of the movement is that national strength, economic and otherwise, will be so developed that in due time the investment will be abundantly repaid. Industrialists and bankers are coming to the realization that unless general rural conditions improve, further investments will be impossible as the port city markets are already saturated. It will be even to their own interest to help the rural recontruction program to succeed. A carefully worked out and tested program is of course also highly necessary. Thanks to the agencies already at work, much of their experience will be of great assistance. And

in the membership of the National Commission on Rural Reconstruction has been wisely included rural work experts as well as men in political authority. There is every hope that the national rural reconstruction movement will soon be provided with an adequate program and that the necessary funds will not be impossible to secure.

The factor of adequate personnel is naturally the most fundamental and central, and gives the most cause for concern. Research and extension must be conducted by competent men, and funds must be raised and administered by men of integrity. Men in the rural movement must of course be properly equipped along their own lines of work. But all the more must they be prepared in the spirit of loving service. It takes patience and power, tenderness and tact, courage and conviction. The rural worker will have abundant opportunities to learn that love has to manifest itself in all the forms that Paul suggests in his First Epistle to the Corinthians and even more. Whether it be his lot to be a village school teacher directly administering to the needs of the little cmmunity, or to be the director at the central office of an extensive program, he will be equally tested as regards his spirit of loving service to his fellow men. There will surely be disappointments and possibly even danger. At least one notable leader has already laid down his life for the cause, because rural reconstruction has to clean out vice and come into conflict with vested interests. The rural worker has to be prepared to make as much sacrifice as the revolutionist, and to make it with patience as well as determination. With the whole world against him, the rural worker must still be able to say "yea". In terms of the Chinese sage, "seeing that it is not possible, yet he pushes on"; that is the spirit of religion.

Although the farmer has quite specific need along the lines of livelihood, citizenship, literacy and health, and different agencies are attempting to meet these needs with varying emphases, it is generally recognized that they are simply phases of one social life and no one element can be dealt with in isolation. After all. rural reconstruction is one type of human reconstruction. The rural population consists of men, and unless you can create new men you can not have a new society. It is interesting to note that the mass education experiment at Tinghsien has for its slogans the two aims of "Do away with illiteracy: Bring up new citizens." Although nowadays everybody is talking about the economic integrity of Denmark through its system of co-operatives, it should be remembered that the students in

Grundvig's folkschule spent most of their time studying history and learning gymnastics. The farmer has all the potentialities in him, but under present conditions his life is dwarfed and incomplete. All the rural reconstruction measures are in the end intended to bring out his latent energies and fill his life with abundance. His increased knowledge and improved economic status are finally to lead him to a senes of greater confidence in himself and his fellowmen, and a deeper appreciation of the spirit and meaning behind the universe and human society. Released lifesprings and vitality in the farmer and his community, is the consummation of all rural reconstruction; and that alone will insure permanent success of the movement and salvation of the nation.

Not only is the rural reconstruction movement religious and spiritual from the standpoint of the required qualities of the rural worker and desired ends in the farmer, it is such in its whole nature and function. What has been said of the individual farmer might be said of the entire nation. China has many needs. Her economic condition is deplorable and her political situation insecure. Her internal status and her international relations leave very much to be desired. She needs material construction and educational advancement. But of all her needs the greatest is *a regenerated national soul.* Her people must be brought from despair into hope and confidence, from passivity into participation. A little over a century ago, right under French occupation, Fichte declared from Berlin to the German nation, "Take courage. The national catastrophe is the national hope!" To turn the stumbling block into a stepping stone in China, nothing seems more effective than the rural reconstruction movement. There is no time for argument. The work is actually begun. It is spreading like wild fire. Its bugle call has wakened a slumbering public and is gathering the best of minds and hearts, especially from among the young. Educated people used to the convenience and comforts of urban life have forsaken it all to join the ranks of the new army. There is true sacrifice and service in love. The present accomplishment is considerable; its future development must be tremendous. The momentum impresses one with the omen of the birth of a new nation, new and yet rooted in the best of her ancient heritage. Here at last is a true renaissance of a great ancient people and civilization. And such a movement, though without creeds or rituals, is essentially religious and spiritual.

VI. Christianity and the Rural Reconstruction Movement

Against this background and nature of the national rural reconstruction movement in China, the place and contribution of Christianity ought to be obvious. Christianity began as a religion of the meek and lowly. Jesus' immediate followers consisted of farmers and fishermen. One of his most beautiful parables was that of the sower and the seed. He drew to him those in sorrow and heavy laden, and he placed on them his yoke which was light and easy. Christianity has always been the champion of the oppressed. Its gospel is the gospel of life abundant; and its faith is the faith in the Kingdom of God. It is a popular religion; it is meant for the many. It is the fountain spring of life and power and it gives sustenance in disappointment and failure. It is in a special sense the religion for rural China, though of course it is a universal religion.

When the propagation of Christianity in China began, it was carried on mostly in the rural field. Even now the rural church is probably the most considerable of any one force engaged in rural work in China. Much endeavor and sacrifice have been put into this development. The ministry and spirit of many of the country pastors and missionraies—notably the China Inland Mission members as a group—is something which it is neither for us to add to nor subtract from. But with growing influence Christianity in China began to become respectable. It laid rather undue emphasis on identifying itself with the upper classes. The great number of Christian colleges and universities is a case in point. Partly because of this shifted emphasis and partly because of the lack of proper methods, the results of Christian rural work are not encouraging despite their scope and history. Of course Christianity in China in general has suffered many setbacks during the last few years. But the practice of preaching the gospel pure and simple to a village audience, whose immediate concern is the wherewithal for food and clothing, is not going to thrive under any circumstance. It was disheartening for one, to whom both the cause of Christianity and that of the rural movement are dear, to observe that at the National Rural Work Conference described above, the Christian Church made itself conspicuous by its absence although it held a similar national conference of its own some eighteen months before. This incident helps to illustrate the lack of systematic attention and planning on the part of the Christian Church along this once its most important field of activity.

The present counsel is not, however, to desert the rural field because of meagre results, but to renew and concentrate the Christian forces in this direction. While not insisting on any curtailment elsewhere, it should be said that the rural field is worthy of all the support at hand. Not only does the rural movement need Christianity, but any religion or doctrine that desires a place in the life of China tomorrow must be able to grip her rural population today. This is my conviction, at least, for new China must, in the nature of the case, be a nation built on regenerated rural communities.

The Christian resources of course have been very much reduced, but when gathered together and organized in one coherent direction they are still considerable. If all the funds and facilities and man power within the Christian fold were mustered for the service of the rural movement it would help to write a new history for China as well as for the Christian cause therein.

VII. Christian Education and the Rural Reconstruction Movement

In so far as the element of personnel seems to be the most central in the rural reconstruction movement, and in so far as it is mainly through the personal qualities that religion makes its best contribution, Christian education has a special part to play in the total picture. The need of personnel adequately trained in spirit and technic for rural service will soon be greatly magnified as the national organizations get ready to carry out their plans. And unless this need is immediately filled, all local projects will have to continue to work under a handicap while any nation-wide undertaking will be doomed to failure. The Christian colleges and schools and seminaries should take on themselves the responsibility to supply man power for the use of the consolidated Christian forces. They should realize the challenge and opportunity offered by the movement in general. In fact an increasing number of students are becoming interested and will probably soon ask for organized training courses. Christianity has been the pioneer in several fields in the modern life of China, for instance, the introduction of scientific medicine and modern education, especially popular educational opportunities for women. May it be found still alert and not wanting when the call of the time is for rural service. A few of the Christian institutions might to advantage make this training a specialty and thereby distinguish themselves and make themselves indispensable to China. It is to be expected that a considerable number of schools and colleges, government and private,

will in the near future follow the lead, but Christian institutions should not lose the opportunity to take that lead. The present-day rural worker in China should have many of the qualities of the American pioneer and the Christian missionary. The Christian educational institutions, because of their special connections and ideals should be expected to turn out many a Chinese Daniel Boone and Albert Schweitzer, Morrison and Grundvig.

The rural emphasis in education should be regarded as a direction rather than a department. Within this general scope, students interested could specialize in education or economics, medicine or agriculture, home economics or local government. Such a variety of training would be worthy of any Christian institution, and could hardly be properly undertaken by any one by itself. There should be no misunderstanding that such training could be conducted cheaply or primitively. In fact it justifies and requires the investment of all present resources. Men of the highest intellectual calibre ought to be enlisted to conduct the training which must go hand in hand with research and experimentation, activities appropriate to any institution of higher learning. A few institutions alert and brave enough to take up this experiment will surely be entering a new and significant epoch in their own development and may even redirect the educational currents in the nation.

Among the Chinese students of today, there is plenty of honest desire to do something really worthwhile and significant for the welfare of their nation, even though it be hard and bitter. It should be granted that a good many youths have turned Communists as a result of this worthy motive, because they see nothing else challenging and thrilling on the horizon. It is hoped that this new effort and educational opportunity along the lines of rural reconstruction will result in the finding of the deepest springs in the personality of many a youth, and in releasing them for the achievement of a noble life for the students themselves and of increased happiness for their less fortunate brethren. Here at last is a concrete and constructive project deserving the effort of the best minds and energies and with plenty of hardship and pathos to lift it above the realm of the ordinary.

About half a century ago, the foreign missions offered the occasion for the organization in America of the highly significant Student Volunteer Movement. Hundreds of young men and young women have accepted the call and gone to the far corners of the earth to administer to the needs of their fellowmen and to

preach the gospel of God. The cause of rural reconstruction in China today has a magnitude and meaning at least comparable to that of the foreign missions of that time. It is predicted and urged, if necessary, that a similar movement will arise from among the Chinese Christian students. Because of its vagueness, the very name with its abreviations of "S.V.M." might be borrowed for tradition and atmosphere. While there should be a national organization, real strength should be found in the individual bands in the colleges and schools. Men and women would draw to each other for this purpose. Three to six members would form one band. They would make mutual pledge of their intentions and offer mutual encouragement. They would prepare themselves on the principle of division of labour. For instance, the girls might specialize in home economics and public nursing while the men take up education, agriculture and medicine. As they get prepared and as opportunities offer themselves, they would go out band by band as light and salt for rural communities. They might even marry and thereby consolidate their fellowship and their service to their neighbours! They might in this way find a concrete and constructive expression of the noblest, highest, and best that is in them.

In consideration of space this article has to be written in general terms. Several of the paragraphs deserve considerable expansion, It is hoped, however, that the central idea is clear. China is undergoing an extremely difficult period—a crisis. The way out lies in the movement for national rural reconstruction. This movement is not to be regarded as one of several fields of activity and therefore as of only equal importance with them, but the foundation for further national development along any line. In its essential nature the movement is spiritual and religious. In it Christianity faces a challenge. Its best contribution will be made through the Christian spirit and personality of the rural workers, i.e. through its educational program and activity. If Christianity and Christian education in China are still alert and alive to the call of the time, it is hoped that the rural reconstruction movement may be provided with the necessary trained workers imbued with the Christian spirit, that the students in the Christian institutions may be inspired and enabled to give a constructive expression to their patriotism and religion, that the Christian institutions may in a definite way realize their respective mottos of truth, love and service, and that the New China may really be a "China for Christ."

CHAPTER V

WAR OR PEACE?

H. Y. SUN

If the question, "Do you want war or peace?" should be put to the man on the street, his answer would undoubtedly be, "I want peace", unless he is so bloodthirsty as to enjoy killing peop e. However, the question confronting us at this moment is not whether we are in favor of war or peace, but rather whether peace is possible or whether war is the only course open to us. In other words, it is a question that cannot be intelligently answered without due regard to the actual situation.

Let us first state our position on this question and then explain why we have taken it. When peace is possible we ought to do our best to uphold peace; but when the situation becomes such that peace cannot continue, we should not be reluctant to go to war, on condition that such war is waged in the interest of the masses. It must be a war designed to uphold truth and to end all future wars that might be fought in the interest of the privileged few.

Generally speaking, the following three kinds of international or interracial contradictions are fraught with possibilities of war: (1) contradictions between the capitalistic nations themselves, (2) contradictions between the capitalistic nations on the one hand and their colonies and the weaker nations on the other, and (3) contradictions between the capitalistic nations and the only socialistic state on earth, namely, Soviet Russia. No doubt, all international problems and disputes that may lead to war grow out of these contradictions. Let us analyse the nature of these contradictions to see if they can be liquidated by peaceful means. In this connection one point should and must be borne in mind, and that is, that all the three kinds of contradictions mentioned above have to do with, or are centered in, the capitalistic nations. This fact constitutes the crucial point of the question that we are studying.

Capitalistic society is built on the system of private property. To put it in more concrete terms, capitalistic society is built on

that kind of human relationship wherein the propertied few exploit the propertyless many for selfish gain. When capitalism has developed to a certain stage, it cannot but seek to expand itself to other lands in order to secure cheap raw materials, markets for its surplus products, and opportunities for investment. This gives rise to the conflict between the capitalistic nations themselves and between the capitalistic nations on the one hand and their colonies and the weaker nations on the other. Moreover, in their effort to meet their own crises and to carry out their expansionist programs, all of the capitalistic nations endeavor to achieve their goal at the expense of their colonies and the weaker peoples. This is another reason for the conflict just mentioned.

As regards the contradictions between the capitalistic nations and the Soviet Union, the reason is twofold: first, because the capitalistic nations covet Soviet territory which is equivalent to one-sixth of the earth's surface; and secondly, because Soviet Russia has adopted the socialistic order which is the bitterest enemy of capitalism.

From the above, we may come to this conclusion: As long as imperialism exists (imperialism means capitalism developed to the stage mentioned above, or is another term for the social order of the capitalistic powers) war is inevitable. This, then, is what we understand to be the nature of war.

Such being the cause of war, the so-called peace movements naturally have their limitations. That is to say, when that stage is reached where war will most probably (needless to say, there the phrase "most probably" means "inevitably") break out, such movements will be entirely ineffective. We may put it in another way. Peace, as it is understood in capitalistic society, is but a lull in a chronic war. That this is the case can be readily seen from the fact that although the blood shed during the first World War is scarcely dry, the second holocaust is already in the offing. This means that the only problem facing us is, What kind of attitude we should adopt toward war, since it is unnecessary and futile to discuss ways and means of averting war. However, even if peace can last for only one second longer, we must maintain peace to the best of our ability.

We are of course strongly opposed to any war which is fought in the interest of a small minority, in which the toiling masses simply serve as cannon-fodder and the colonies and weaker nations are the only losers, and which is designed to

make the few rich people still richer and to maintain capitalistic control which is on the verge of collapse. As stated above, war can not be avoided. This means that the only effective way of ending war is to answer war by war. Let the revolutionary war of the toiling masses and the war of the colonies and the weaker nations to liberate themselves, answer the imperialistic war, which amounts to armed robbery. Then and only then can war be truly abolished and the emancipation of the whole of mankind achieved. Therefore, we may say that such a war will be the last war to be fought by mankind, after which there will be everlasting peace. For this reason, our war to end war will be above national or racial barriers. The toiling masses of all the imperialistic countries and the revolutionary peoples of the colonies and weaker countries will present a united front against the ruling classes of their respective lands in this war on all the imperialistic robbers.

Space does not permit of more than a brief discussion of this question of war or peace. However, I wish to make this important statement, namely, that while this article is written by me, what I have said represents, in my judgment, the viewpoint of the vast majority of the Chinese people, especially the younger generation. In fact, this question is being widely discussed throughout China, as is evidenced by articles in many of the magazines, newspapers and books published in the country.

I wish also to state briefly the attitudes and opinions of the general public in China concerning the Sino-Japanese question. This, I hope, will supplement what I have said above, As a Chinese, I should of course dwell at length on the Sino-Japanese question in this article, but space does not permit me to do so. A circular telegram despatched to the Central Government and the people throughout the country on Dec. 6, 1935, by fourteen schools and colleges in Peiping, including Yenching, University, Tsinghua University, National Normal Colldge, etc. said, inter alia: "In recent years, the Chinese people have constantly been in distress and have lost much of their territory and many of their sovereign rights. The situation has reached the stage where no further concessions can or should be made.....The lesson that we have learned through these years.....is that if we wish to continue our existence as a nation, the only course open to us is to mobilize the resources of the entire nation for resisting further foreign aggression." This telegram, circulated at a time when the situation in North China was exceedingly tense,

heralded the now famous "Dec. 9 Student Movement" which stirred up the whole of Peiping City, and the subsequent nation-wide national salvation movement.

"The events of the past four years or so," said the National Salvation Association of the Cultural Bodies in Shanghai in a manifesto, "have convinced us that the invasion of China by her enemy, instead of being a rash act on the part of a few irresponsible, ambitious men, is the inevitable result of the development of imperialism.....To seek to awaken the enemy by means of compromise, cooperation, the promotion of friendly relations, or persuasion is tantamount to asking the tiger for its skin.....The only course of action open to the Chinese people is, therefare, to fight the enemy to the bitter end."

Likewise, the Federation of National Salvation Associations of Shanghai had the following to say in its declaration: ".....Therefore, we cannot but shout ourselves hoarse in reminding the 450 millions of our fellow-countrymen that, aside from fighting Japanese imperialism with iron and blood to the bitter end, there is absolutely no way-out of the present crisis."

A few days ago, two important national organizations, namely, the Federation of Students' National Salvation Associations and the Federation of National Salvation Organizations in China, came into existence in close succession. Their positions on the question of national salvation, which, I am sorry to say, cannot be given here, are alike.

Finally, it may be worthwhile to acquaint the readers with the attitude of Christian youth in China toward the Sino-Japanese situation. The manifesto of the Provisional Council of the Student Christian Movement in China said, in part: "To bring about a world brotherhood, it is necessary thoroughly to emancipate the masses first. We stand for truth and righteousness and are vigorously opposed to the oppression and invasion of the weaker peoples by the imperialistic powers. We advocate immediate, nation-wide resistance against the oppression and invasion of our nation by Japanese imperialism. While we are not narrow nationalists, we are, nevertheless, willing to resist with force any ruthless foreign aggression for the well-being of our masses. We further advocate the formation of a united front against such aggression with all the peoples of the world that treat us on the basis of equality and with those elements of the different peoples who have really awakened. We do. not believe in violence, but we are ready to struggle for true and per-

manent peace. On the one hand, we are opposed to imperialistic wars, and on the other, we advocate the mobilization of the resources of the masses for self-defense, thereby to recover our lost territory and rights."

In addition, the following manifesto was issued recently by a group of twenty-eight Christian leaders, all of whom enjoy the confidence of Christian youth: "In the interest of truth, we ask our entire people to rise in a body and gallantly resist any foreign invasion or oppression. We love peace, but we love justice more. While we will not make any meaningless sacrifice, we are ready to shed our blood in the cause of truth and righteousness."

CHAPTER VI

CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

MISS P. S. TSENG

In the present world crisis, when the leading nations are oscillating between democracy and dictatorship, between individual freedom and party control, between peace and war, it is very difficult for Christians, particularly Chinese Christians to take a definite stand. It is stated very clearly in the Bible that Jesus came to teach us how to love each other; and love brings peace, sympathy and co-operation. It seems quite plain, therefore, that Christians must follow and support their Leader who is the Prince of Peace. Yet since we cannot help seeing that the world is far from being peaceful, certain questions naturally arise in our minds.

First, is war unavoidable? Some people believe that so long as we have races and nations, we shall always have war: since it is said in the Bible that there will be wars and rumours of war, it is more or less predestined that mankind must suffer this purge. It only remains for us, therefore, to choose what cause to fight for, and is not necessary to choose between peace and war. This assumption is, however, erroneous. No doubt when the Anglo-Saxons were attacked by the Scots the Picts and the Britons, a united Britain was something that they could not conceive of; and if any one had suggested then that they would all become one nation eventually, he would have been laughed to scorn and considered out of his wits. For the good of people as a whole, the different tribes of the British Isles were able to put aside their individual difficulties and form one unit. This proves that when people are sane and reasonable, it is possible to overcome racial prejudice. The League of Nations is attempting to do something of this kind. Though it has failed in many respects, it is at least one step—a big step, too!—towards international peace. Such a step would have been thought impossible even in the time of Napoleon. As to whether it is the will of God to curb war, we need only read the Sermon on the Mount to see what Christ directed His disciples to do.

Second, is it not necessary to clear away the debris so that we can rebuild ; to have a revolution before we can make a new nation ; to fight out the issue before we can have peace ? This sounds very simple and straightforward but unfortunately war by no means fulfils these functions. Look at Europe ! It has not yet recovered from the effects of the World War. Take England, the most fortunate country during the war, what has she gained or rebuilt out of the debris ? She has millions of people out of work, her trade in the Far East has decreased enormously and her people have to pay the highest taxes the nation has ever known. What is worse is that the nations having fought the late World War, which was to end war, have now to arm themselves even more than before. It does not seem that the situation leading to the late World War has been in any way cleared. We Christians must not help to sow the seeds of destruction. We cannot end war by means of war or generate love by hatred, any more than we can gather grapes from thorns or figs from thistles.

Third, is not war a righteous punishment for law-breaking nations ? Some nations are so aggressive and put their faith so much in military force that they will never come to their senses until they suffer a military defeat. Thus argue the supporters of war. War may be punishment but it is certainly not a cure. Take the Franco-Prussian war, for instance. France was beaten to the dust. Did she repent ? Certainly not ! Defeat only made her more anxious to equip her army and her navy and to keep the fire smouldering in preparation for the conflagration of 1914. Again, in 1914, half the world believed that in joining the Allies they were fighting a righteous war, were giving Germany the proper punishment she deserved and were sure of its salutary influence. It will require an extraordinarily sanguine person to-day to say that Germany learned her lesson. Jesus never advocated punishment, for He clearly saw the futility of it. St. Paul was very explicit in his Epistle to the Romans that we must not be overcome by evil but overcome evil with good.

Fourth, can a Christian stand aside when his nation is aggressive by attacked by another ? Is he not morally degraded by not upholding a war for self-defence ? In the case of true aggression, there is usually no war at all. When we say one nation is aggressively attacked by another, it generally implies that the aggressor is much stronger than the persecuted, who often is not in a position to fight or even to resist passively. Take for instance China and Japan. It goes without saying

that the Japanese are very aggressive in China. Can China fight her? The leaders of the Chinese Government realize the situation and try their utmost to avoid any clash with the Japanese. They are not strong enough to say to the nation that we cannot possibly fight, or that if anything so foolish is attempted it simply would bring about the final downfall of China. They are, however, acting on this principle, and they are right, though they are much blamed for their inertia. It seems strange that Christians are afraid to say what the Government dared to do, namely, not resist an aggressive nation. The idea the politicans have in their minds, may be "we cannot fight now, so we will wait until we are ready." Surely by the time they are ready, it will no longer be a war of self-defence between unequal forces; that is to say it will no longer be a war against aggression but a war of revenge. Jesus Christ never wanted to form an earthly kingdom, hence He never actually acted against Roman rule. "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's" is His command. He was much more opposed to things that are against the law of God than the things that are against the traditions or sentiments of man. If any people could follow the Sermon on the Mount or obey His new commandment, civil and international wars would be bound to cease.

Fifth, ought we not to defend the weak and the helpless—the women and children in time of war? Jesus Christ was not afraid of the strong but He never advocated defending the weak to the extent of shedding blood. In the Garden of Gesthemane He must have realized perfectly the weakness of His disciples. They were a very small band compared with the Roman legions, without even the sympathy and support of their own nation. Yet Christ did not encourage them to use the sword. He who had always brought help to the sick and succour to the dying, was willing to let the weak disciples die undefended at the hands of the Romans and the Jews. Why? There must be something higher than saving their lives. Life is necessary because it embodies and expresses the personality of a human soul, but, if death,—the cessation of life—can complete and ennoble personality even more than life, then death has a higher value. The value of life and death lies in:—whether it can uplift our souls; whether it gives us more freedom and whether it befits us better for the kingdom of God. This is as true of a nation as it is true of an individual. God has many times allowed His chosen people to be conquered by ofher nations in order to lead them closer to Himself

Sixth, did not Jesus use forces in chasing out the money-changers and the pigeon-sellers? Did He not curse the fig tree and suffer the pigs to be thrown into the sea? It is true that Jesus sometimes used means to suppress something which was a public offence, but only to curb its power and never to the point of taking human life. If necessity should arise when He had to choose between sacrificing His own life and that of others, He would choose to die Himself. The scene in the Garden of Gethsemane amply proves this. The modern idea of freedom is we must have freedom to live, but have we thought that we also have freedom to die—not to die on the battlefield at the instigation of others or for conventional sentiments, but for the peace of the world, for carrying out the Christian principle of love, and for founding the kingdom of heaven on earth?

The standard of Jesus is plain and absolute. Others may act as they like but we cannot retaliate. Others may disobey God's law but we must follow His teaching. We must act as if the kingdom of God were already here. There is no room in Jesus' way of life for reprisal, or self-defence. Love reigns supreme.

Such is the standard of Jesus, and it ought to be the standard of all Christians; but the world is far from accepting it; in fact that world is all for war. Apart from the instinct of the struggle for existence, traditional jealousy and fear, the war psychology is actually nurtured by the following factors:

I. Ignorance. Communication has been made easy throughout the world during the last hundred years, yet the ignorance of the nations about each other is still most amazing. The Europeans may laugh at the Chinese for believing such rubbish as that foreigners' cut out babies' eyes and ears to make medicine; but did not the English public believe that during the Great War the Germans cut of childrens' hands and used human fat to make glycerine? Most people cannot imagine foreigners as individuals but as one block—either good or bad, chiefly bad. The very word "foreign" suggest something unknown. In the face of such ignorance, is it surprising that a few politicians can work up the nation into a feverish state about war at the least provocation?

2. Prejudice. Prejudice is a false interpretation of facts due to ignorance and the fear of the unkown. Once a prejudice is formed, it is very difficult to eradicate. In international relations, no serious attempt has been made to clear up

misunderstanding. The Chinese believe that all foreigners are agents of some form of imperialism, while most foreigners believe China to be semi-barbarous and all her officials corrupt. It is as impossible for the English to understand the magnetic power of Hitler in Germany as for the Americans to appreciate the death of those Japanese generals who committed suicide on hearing of the death of their Emperor. Yet to hide their ignorance people will put forward theories—often detrimental to the nation described—and proceed to believe them. It is generally the people who know least about another country that have the strongest opinions against it.

3. Propaganda. War propagandists are many and various. Some of them are unconscious instruments of unseen powers behind the scene, but some are quite clear in their minds about what they are doing and do it with zest and skill. Among those in the foremost rank are the journalists. They purposely fan up the flames of hatred between nations either at the hint of governments or to effect a better sale of their paper by means of sensational news. Since the taste of the public is generally low, an accusation against foreigners, or an attempt to shift blame on them, will always find willing ears. During a war all truths are distorted in the press; the good points of the enemy are minimized or suppressed entirely; the warring actions—which the condemning nation herself would not hesitate to adopt if necessity demands—are magnified and elaborated with gruesome details.

Next come the ammunition merchants. Their business is to sell arms. So long as there is some war threatening, or going on, their business is assured. They consider wars as God's mercy to them rather than indefensible crimes. *Sir Robert Hadfield, the chairman of Vickers Ltd. and Hadfields Ltd. (two leading British armament concerns) addressing their shareholders at their annual meeting 1934 said, "Happily a favourable turn of events, has followed. We are indeed devoutedly thankful for present mercies, but may I add that for what we hope we are about to receive, may the Lord make us truly thankful. And I say this in no irreverent spirit." At the same meeting the chairman was asked by Miss Eleanor Rathbone why Vickers had advertised tanks in Germany despite the fact that Germany was forbidden by the peace treaty to have tanks. The chairman got round it by saying that German newspapers had a wider circulation in South American countries than the British papers and would effect a better sale. †The armourers are true

*Charles A. Seldon—*New York Times* quoted by the *Peking and Tientsin Times*, June 5th, 1934.

† "Arms and Men" by the editors of *Fortune*, March 1934.

internationalists, they will sell their arms to any one regardless whether the customers are friends or enemies. In 1915 when Germany had urgent need of nickel, England exported twice as much nickel to Sweden as in the two previous years put together; of the total import of 504 tons 70 were reshipped to Germany, the remaining 434 tons were used in Sweden for manufacturing munitions—also for Germany. Again France had to scratch hard for iron and steel; month after month, the German heavy industries exported an vaerage of 150,000 tons of scrap iron, steel or barbed wire to Switzerland, where it was then transported to France. France in her turn sold chemicals to Lonza Co., a Swiss industrial concern, and thence to the munition works in Germany. Thus for profit and power it is possible for people to forget their nationalities and work in international cooperation. In 1933 Hitler sued a German journalist for having made the statement that Skoda (and through Skoda Schneider-Creusot) had contributed to his campaign expenses. Hitler never made a direct denial of the charge, thus it seems possible for a French armament firm to support the one man who is most likely to disturb the peace of France. If people can do all these things for war, why, are we Christians so afraid to do it for peace?

Then come the diplomatic and political people in the governments. It will not be too much to assume that the average same man does not want war. He is essentially a peaceful creature. Yet it is he who rushes into the battle field, suffers terrible mutilation, and gets killed at the very first sound of the bugle. Why? Because he believes implicitly what his government tells him. He is told that his nation, has been insulted, his country is in danger, his rights of life and liberty are threatened, and his wife and children will be starved; all through no fault of his own or on the part of his own nation but solely on account of the sheer wickedness of the enemy; and he believes them all; naturally he will fight to the last ounce of his blood.

To a young idealist the appeal to fight for freedom, right, peace, and civilization itself will never fail. But is such, in reality, the genesis and motive of modern war? Surely not. It has been repeatedly proved that wars are waged for the sake of domination, markets and territory, having nothing whatsoever to do with freedom, right, peace, or civilization. The nation that is about to attack terrifies its own citizens with fears of impending invasion. The governments know it well. That is why there are so many secret treaties, not so very secret to their

enemies as to their own public, who, once getting hold of the true story, may be chilled to the bone and automatically stop all wars. Such secret treaties were signed between the Entente Powers in the Great War but keep in the profoundest secrecy from the public, which was just then suffering voluntary martyrdom in a frantic effort to salvage civilization and humanity. They were only published by the Revolutionary Government of Russia in 1917. If we examine these documents we shall find nothing whatever about world peace, disarmament, or even mutual understanding. They were all concerned with ambition, greed, power, territory and high finance. Yet thousands, may, mllions of people were duped into death through all the four years. If they had known a fraction of the truth, the War would have made a different story. The saddest part is, in spite of this tremendous sacrifice, men have learnt nothing about the genesis and motive of war. Mr. C. E. Montague puts it in these words, "Prussia, beaten out of the field, had won in the souls of her conquerors' rulers. They had become her pupils."

Writers of history, fiction, plays and magazines and books of all kinds are very frequently promoters of war. Excepting a very small minority, even the best of them have little good to say about foreigners. Literature has a most subtle influence over people of all ages and sexes but especially over the young, who, while their minds are still plastic, are not taught to sympathize, trust or respect God's children across the frontier, but are instilled with a spirit of fear, jealousy and abhorrence. In recent years people like Mr. H. G. Wells have made a noble attempt to broaden the mental horizon of their readers in the matter of international perspective, but those who follow their example are few and far between. To-day writers of the ultra-national type practically dominate the field.

Shortly after the Japanese invasion into Manchuria, the Japanese delegation to the Institute of Pacific Relations Biennial Conference, 1931, distributed a booklet in which numerous anti-Japanese passages found in Chinese school text-books were systematically gathered and quoted, whereupon the Chinese got together and soon produced an equally well authenticated catalogue of anti-Chinese texts used in Japanese schools. There is no doubt both nations are doing their best to stir up mutual fear and hatred through the printed page. A cursory glance at current literature will convince one of this fact.

In view of recent events both in the Far East and in Europe, we are constantly warned that we may be on the eve of another

world war. The material for the conflagration is all here—armament, organization and war psychology. With the fever of war on them, people become unreasonable and fail to see their back of logical deduction. When Germany attacked France, by way of neutral Belgium, it was considered by the allies to be the greatest offence against civilization and humanity. But when one of the allies namely, Japan, attacked the Germans in Tsingtao by way of neutral Shantung, they could not be brought to see the analogy between the two cases. Such is the potency of war psychology. It so distorts things that the belligerent nations honestly believe themselves to be in the right and the enemy in the wrong. Even religious bodies are no exceptions; in fact, they are not nearly so internationally-minded as their misguided brethren who worship Mammon in world-wide concord.

The horrors of modern warfare can be easily imagined by any one who has seen a machine gun or an aeroplane. Not only the armed forces but the whole nation, civilians, women and children throughout the length and breadth of the land, will be exposed to gunfire. There is no distance which the aeroplane cannot reach. All nations of chivalry will be discarded. The only thing that matters will be, who can kill most. Indeed, "if mankind does not end war, war will end mankind." As followers of Christ, who is the Prince of Peace, and lover of mankind, we have little room left for doubt as to the right course to adopt.

Life, like money, is for use. If it is all used up in an instant for some great purpose, we call it sacrificing one's life for a noble cause. If on the other hand it is slowly used up, we call it work. If we set life's value on the spiritual plane, we will not sacrifice it for material gain alone, either to ourselves or even to our beloved nations, because it is of small value compared with the thing we consider the highest. If we die for peace by refusing to fight under any circumstances whatever, it will not be a waste of life. If we have to die, if we have to make the supreme sacrifice, if war cannot be averted and we must kill or be killed, surely a Christian should offer himself on the Altar of God and not on that of Mars.

After all, what is the value of life even apart from the Christian standpoint? The value of life is found in its creativeness. If by the sudden cessation of this physical life greater good is created, then life has fulfilled its purpose. The sin of murder and war is just this: we take another man's lief, we stop

up a fountain of creative power, we rob posterity of the good and beauty and truth which the man has the potentiality of creating. Christ, who is no other than *the* life, says of Himself. "The Son of Man cometh not to take away life but to give life and to give it more abundantly."

War may be inevitable as many people stoutly maintain. If so, it only impels us to come to a decision as to what we shall do when caught in its meshes. We cannot evade the question or shirk our responsibility. Was it not Carlyle who said that every noble work was at first impossible? Let us attempt the impossible! It is not so much the actual solution itself that matters to a Christian as the attempt to find it. Obviously no single solution can suffice for all eternity. Each generation has to face this problem afresh. But the principle remains the same; the true disciple of Christ must take up his own cross and follow Him even unto Calvary for His sake. He must act as if the Kingdom of God were already here irrespective of actual conditions.

But is it an impossibility that we are attempting? Emphatically no! While political and economic conditions are powerful factors in the production of war, they are themselves mere tools of war-mindedness. Politics and economic forces are war-making only when we make them so. To say that by drastically reforming the political and economic systems of the world, war will disappear of its own accord, is to miss the point altogether. The reformed systems will produce a fresh crop of wars, that is all. To do away with war, we must get to the root of the matter and eradicate war-mindedness. After all, it is really a simple matter. We just have to make up our minds and honestly refuse to give in to Mars. Let us chase him out of our governments: no secret diplomacy, no armament. Let us chase him out of our printing press: no perversion of truth, no fanning up of mutual hatred. Let us chase him out of our business offices, our factories, our homes, yea, and our very hearts, for all the rest will be of no avail unless we enthrone God in our heart of hearts. Where there is a will there is a way. Secular pacifists like Mr. Lowes Dickinson and Mr. (now Lord) Bertrand Russell, Prof. Einstein possess this will to peace, and they have not been at a loss to find a way. In this one respect at least they seem to be more followers of Christ than most of us professed Christians. Truth is but one; they that have the more faith get it. If we do not look sharp, we may find ourselves supporting the system of war, leaving the non-Christians alone to attempt the impossible.

Jesus said, "I am the way, the truth, and the life." According to the life of Jesus, war is certainly incompatible with Christianity. We must not be ashamed of His Truth nor be afraid of His way, the way of the cross. The Light has indeed come but the darkness comprehendeth it not.

This article is but a poor attempt to reflect the Light. If it is not clear, it is the fault of the mirror and not of the Light. His command is clear and unequivocal; "Love your enemies." And we are to pray "forgive our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us." Let us obey, in life and in death, with faith, courage and humility.

CHAPTER VII

STUDENTS AND THE NATIONAL CRISIS

I. The Background of the Student Situation Michael Bruce.

For nearly four years student strikes and demonstrations have been rare occurrences in China. Indeed some university lecturers were saying not more than a few months ago that Chinese students were losing interest in politics. Then, quite suddenly on December 9th, 1935 six thousand students in Peiping demonstrated as a protest against the so-called "North China autonomy movement". Another demonstration was held in Peiping on December 16th. On December 19th five thousand students demonstrated in Shanghai, similar protests were made in practically every student centre of importance, and an attempt was made by some students to reach Nanking in order to insist that the Government should stand firm.

In order to understand these events we have to appreciate two things: first, the position of students in China and secondly, the present international landscape.

The characteristic idea of undergraduate life in Great Britain and to a more or less extent in other Western countries is that it is a time of preparation for the responsibilities of life. Within certain fairly wide limits students can do what they like and no one will pay very much attention to them. Within still wider limits they may say and think what they like. No one looks to them for guidance, they are not expected to take a responsible share in running the country; on the contrary they are as far as possible freed from the cares of this world. They are left free to think and study without being forced to put their ideas to the test of action when they are still but half-thought out. The hope is, that at the end of their university they will have developed a balanced outlook, and a capacity for sound judgment; for keeping an eye on the ultimate and not being over awed by the exigencies of the present. At its best the system works well, though some, having once been trained to be spectators, either remain so to the end of their lives or when they plunge into the responsibilities of life promptly forget all that they learned in their time of preparation.

The Chinese situation is utterly different. In the first place, instead of the traditional detachment of the British student, the Chinese student has been an important factor in politics ever since the Han dynasty. Secondly, in a country which is still quite largely illiterate but in which the student population is steadily growing it is inevitable that the student community will play a big part in politics. The logic of events forces them into political responsibility because there is no one else to shoulder it. They are the most articulate organ of public opinion. Thirdly, the traditional position of leadership of the scholar class, makes the population expect students to take a lead in political questions.

Thus in China school girls and school boys have an intense sense of responsibility for their country at an age when the average Western youth has scarcely begun to think of political questions. In this sense the Chinese student is vastly more mature than his Western contemporary. But partly perhaps due to the sense of responsibility, and the sense of the urgency of action coming so young, the Chinese student is less mature in other ways. He is far more easily led.

It is difficult for anyone living in China to give an unbiased account of Sino-Japanese relations. To understand and appreciate the good points in a man who was slowly amputating your limbs without an anesthetic, would be difficult. Nor would it be made any easier if the man insisted that it was for your own good, and accused you bitterly of insincerity and want of a cooperative spirit if you writhed in agony or groaned with pain.

We do not believe that the people of Japan would support what is being done in China in their name, if they knew the real position. In consequence neither we ourselves, nor our maturer friends have any animus against the Japanese people as such, but in the present situation it is almost unavoidable that the less thoughtful will be filled with a spirit of hatred and revenge. The present situation is, and should be, intolerable to any decent minded Chinese. Under the cloak of extra-territoriality silver smuggling outward from China, and commodity smuggling inward is a serious drain on China's wealth; under the same cloak drug traffickers and keepers of houses of ill-fame are increasing their trade at enormous rates in areas where good government had largely suppressed them. The Chinese police dare not touch these offenders for fear of causing an international "incident". Not long ago the Japanese demanded an indemnity for the arrest

of some silver smugglers and further demanded that the police concerned should be punished! Occasionally of course the Japanese consular police act themselves, but they are entirely inadequate even if they were energetic. So these trades go on, and flourish exceedingly. Many believe it is a definite part of Japanese policy to undermine the morale of China by these means. Neglect and indifference are probably truer explanations.

Further than this many Chinese feel that Formosa, Korea, Manchuria, Jehol and now North China have bit by bit been torn away or are being torn away from China. There is not a shadow of doubt that the "autonomy" movement was engineered by Japanese money and Japanese influence. During our visits in the North we have not met even one single man who was anything but violently opposed to it.

What is the Japanese motive it is hard to say. The majority of Chinese attribute it to economic capitalist imperialism. Another suggestion is that the ambition of Japanese military leaders is responsible.

Such being the situation, it is not unnatural that students should become restive. Government supporters, while professing sympathy with their patriotic ideals, complain that they are being led by Communists who are out for their own ends, and by "agents provocateur" of Japan whose sole object is to split up the country. They urge that students should support the Government and stand ready to help directly the signal is given. They claim that it is ridiculous to expect the Generalissimo to announce to the world at large, Japanese included, at what stage he will start to resist.

On the other hand many students condemn the Government as hopelessly supine. They think it has already "sold the pass" to Japan. They do not believe that Chiang Kai-shek intends to fight. They are convinced that armed resistance to Japan is necessary, and they are therefore against the present Government.

A middle group supports the Government for the time being, but are waiting for a move. They openly announce that if the Government does not do something drastic in 1936 they will lose faith in it.

There are a few keen pacifists amongst both Christians and Buddhists.

There are others who would willingly fight but feel that for the time being war would be hopeless. The majority of the student population favour war. Though there is still much indifference and ignorance of the situation amongst the country people, and some definite opposition to war amongst others, it seems probable that either war, or revolution against the present regime will come.

II. Students on the Move Again Kiang Wen-Han

For nearly four years the Chinese students have been living in an atmosphere of severe political control and educational regimentation. The heavily loaded curricula, the standardized mass examinations, the compulsory military training, the suppression of political and social organizations in schools and the constant raiding of "undesirable" students have combined to produce a mentality of indifference and cynicism. In the meantime, the national crisis, intensified by steady Japanese encroachment, has developed into alarming proportions. In November last year, the Japanese set about to engineer an "autonomy" movement in North China, aiming to separate the five northern provinces from the jurisdiction of the Central Government. This immediately called forth a series of circular telegrams and manifestoes from the educational circles in Peiping and Tientsin, advocating the use of all available forces to preserve the territorial and political integrity of the country.

The students could no longer continue to be quiet in their classes and laboratories when they found that the existence of their country was hanging in the balance. The quiescent volcano suddenly erupted on December 9th when more than six thousand students of both sexes in Peiping braved a biting wind to hold demonstrations against "autonomy". Up to that time, Chinese sentiments against Japan had been strictly suppressed, and any direct reference to the Japanese aggression in China was regarded as "detrimental to amicable foreign relations". For the first time on December 9th, the students were able to shout the long-forbidden slogans: "Down with Japanese Imperialism!", "The Whole Nation in Arms for the Defense of North China!", etc. Thus they gave voice to the issue which the Japanese were trying to keep under cover. The students paraded in an orderly and high-spirited fashion, defying the obstructions and interference of armed policemen and gendarmes. Minor clashes occurred when the police played firehoses upon them in an attempt to halt the progress of the parade. Many

students were beaten up by the bamboo canes and even the big swords of the police, and others were put under arrest, to be honored as "patriotic criminals" by their fellow-students. Early in the morning, about a thousand students of Yenching and Tsinghua Universities started out from their respective campuses situated about five miles to the west of Peiping, and proceeded on foot to the city, but these were prevented from joining the student demonstrations in the city by barricades which kept them outside the city gates. A "peace strike" was launched the next day and continued for a number of days in the many universites and middle schools in Peiping, and a feverish period of patriotic organization and activity was thus begun.

Another city-wide student demonstration was launched in Peiping on December 16. More than six thousand students from some 25 universities and middle schools participated with undampened enthusiasm. This time the universities outside the city were not foiled. A number of Yenching and Tsinghua students spent the previous night in the city, and their colleagues left their campuses early in the morning and forced their entrance into the city under a barrage of stones thrown by police from the top of the city wall. Inside the city many small parades struggled with the police cordons on every important corner before they could come together for a mammoth mass meeting. After this meeting broke up, the students formed a long parade with some ten or twelve abreast attempting to march through the city. At one gate, the police fired three volleys into the air, but the students held their ground, continuing to shout slogans and to distribute handbills. The leaders ran forward crying: "Chinese police do not fight Chinese students!" One student was severely beaten up by the police but cried out: "Beat me! Kill me if you wish! I am a Chinese who loves his country!" In confronting police attacks, the girl students usually served as vanguards of the parades. At one point, two bodies of students were separated by a barred gate, One girl student of about 21 years of age, bravely crawled under the gate and tried to open it for her fellow-students to pass through, but was caught by the police and severely beaten and then confined for several hours.

The above epoch-making demonstrations in Peiping were followed by a series of sympathetic student parades and strikes all over the country. "The Chinese must unite to save China!" This revival of the student movement is an indication of the nation-wide indignation against the endless Japanese aggressions.

The newly organized Peiping Students' Union has the following to say in their letter to the students of the United States of America: "The masses of China—and they are masses—do not want Japanese rule. But they are unorganized and inarticulate; their strongest desires do not find effective expression. News agencies are heavily censored under threat of extinction. Of all groups in China, we students are the ones who can talk and act with the most straight-forwardness and freedom at this time. We have little to lose in wealth and position, and no family ties to hold us back. We feel our nation's peril with an intensity which only youth can fully understand. We feel that we must do all that we can to arouse and organize the masses so that they will see and understand the present position of China and stand solidly behind those leaders who are determined to save her as a great nation."

In Shanghai, more than five thousand students marched on foot for twelve hours in the cold and rainy night of December 19 before they gathered at the Civic Center early next morning to gain reassurances from Mayor Wu Te-chen on the preservation of China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Then on December 23 about 1,000 students of Fu-Tan University including 50 girls took the lead in starting a "petition pilgrimage" to Nanking. They reached the railway station after various police attempts to stop them on the way. They boarded a train which was due to leave for Nanking early in the afternoon. When it was found that the engine was uncoupled, they announced their intention to stay aboard the train until they got a free ride to the Capital. The Mayor of Shanghai declared martial law and almost all railway traffic was suspended. In the meantime, the student forces at the station were greatly augmented by students from other leading local universities and middle schools, swelling the total number to 2,500, some 500 of them girls and all of them of the ages from 14 to 25. Finally, the students managed to get the train started for Nanking. But they had to run their own locomotive and repair the broken tracks while they moved along. But after they had got about halfway to Nanking, they were compelled to turn back by an overwhelming force of gendarmes sent by the Government to stop them. Their persistent struggle lasted for five starving days and five sleepless nights. Similar stories can be told about the student demonstrations held in Tientsin, Nanking, Wuchang, Hankow, Hangchow, Tsinan and Canton.

On the whole, the student demonstrations have been conducted in a very orderly and peaceful manner except when the

patriotism of the demonstrators was shamefully rewarded by the brutality of the police and other guardians of peace in Peiping. Unfavorable critics have attributed these ebullitions of the students to the machinations of the Communists. But this is nonsensical. Any objective observer must regard the recent student movement as spontaneous in origin and patriotic in motive. One Yenching professor made the following typical remark: "It is shameful to say that Communists are the only patriots left in China. If every Chinese who agrees with and supports the demands made by the students is a Communist, then let us hope that most Chinese are Communists. But it is not true. There are plenty of people left in China who can still love their country, and resist its destruction, without being paid by Moscow for doing it."

The more sophisticated people have also regarded the recent student movement as superficial and perhaps childish. It is true that the student demonstrations have produced very little practical effect on the Sino-Japanese situation. Rightly it is claimed by critics that mere propaganda and parades will not help the country, and that the shouting of slogans and the posting and distribution of handbills is little better than labor lost. Yet the real significance of the student movement started on the now historic "December 9th" should not be overlooked. In the first place, the recent student demonstrations have aroused a mass opposition against Japanese imperialism and expressed the general sentiments of the Chinese people towards a movement for the liberation of the nation. Secondly, the demonstrations have awakened the people to the fact that actual liberation of the nation can be achieved only by a collective "will-to-resistance". Thirdly, the demonstrations have helped to indicate that only organized and disciplined "action" of the people can bring about a "united front" in the country. The students have struck from their studies but they have not been idle. They have organized "armies of propaganda" to penetrate into the interior cities and villages, to awaken the masses to the danger of the nation and to organize them into various people's patriotic societies. The ferment may gradually leaven the whole lump into an irresistible movement for national emancipation. The December Student Movement, properly appraised, is really more significant than the first Student Movement of May 4th, 1919.

The reply to the present student movement came in a vigorous campaign of suppression. The publication of the Emergency

Measures in February ushered in a wave of terror over the entire student field. Patriotic students are liable to be arrested as "Communists", and thus subject to severe punishment in accordance with the Emergency Law. Secret arrests and organized raids on the universities and schools have frequently occurred since February. The Government has also ordered the dissolution of the Students' Union, as "dominated by a few agitators secretly plotting student disturbances." But the Students' Union has the strong mass support of sixty schools in Peiping, twenty-eight in Tientsin, twenty in Shanghai, and ten in Nanking, as well as connections in various other centers of the country. A National Federation of Student Unions was organized in Shanghai in March. In spite of arrests, night raids, secret plainclothes kidnappings, besieging of school dormitories, and outlawing of student patriotic activities, the Student Movement has continued to grow. It has inspired a strong people's front for resistance against the Japanese aggression. As stated in a manifesto signed by the students of Yenching University on March 13, "The purpose of the Union is to liberate the nation and to save Chinese history from disgrace. This is a nation-wide movement . . . . We are united in one common purpose—to fight against the Japanese as the only way out for the Chinese people," National Salvation has now become the chief concern of the Chinese people and students are already taking the role of emancipators.

The Christian students have taken a commendable part in the recent student demonstrations. As a matter of fact, it was the Christian institutions that took the lead in most of the dramatic demonstrations, notably Yenching University in Peiping, Nanking University in Nanking, Central China College in Wuchang, and Shantung Christian University in Tsinan. Of course, there were not lacking Christian students who, influenced by the "escape" type of Christian evangelism, took no active interest in these patriotic eruptions. But in general, the Christian sentiments in the present national crisis have been voiced in the following public announcement recently released by a group of well-known Chinese Christian leaders in Shanghai:

"We believe that every people has a right to existence and to the preservation of their national integrity. Recent events in North China make it plain that all our sufferings and compromises, all our yielding since September 18, 1931 have not only failed to satisfy the insatiable demands of our aggressor, but have almost brought our nation into the depths of an unfathom-

able abyss. For this reason, actuated by a sense of love for the truth, we feel the imperative need for a united front among all our people in fearless opposition to any attempt to alienate our territory and to any measure calculated to deceive or intimidate us into acquiescence in the surrender of our rights. We love peace, but we love justice more. We are against any action that will lead to unnecessary sacrifice, but we are not afraid to shed our blood for the sake of truth and justice. We pledge ourselves to back up to the utmost the nation-wide movement of resistance which has arisen throughout the country."

CHAPTER VIII

THE MEANING OF THE CHURCH*

T. C. CHAO

THIS afternoon as I reflected on the subject which I am to present now and did some casual reading, the following lines came to my mind

> "If wisdom's ways you wisely seek,
> Five things observe with care;
> Of whom you speak, to whom you speak,
> And how and when and where."

I am conscious of the fact that I am to speak of you who are the church, to you who are the church, and that I am to do so in such a conference as this, here and now! What extreme care I have to exercise! Yet it is not without some advantage for one like myself to deal with this important subject, since I am loosely and therefore nominally connected with a denomination and since I have always aspired to see the church as one spiritual reality in the world. Christians need often to feel themselves into oneness. Perhaps we may, to some extent, fulfil this need to-night. In fact, it is not only appropriate, but also urgent, in a conference like this and at a time like this, for us to see together what the church is in its ideal aspects.

What then is the meaning of the church? To me as one who came to its fold, not by family inheritance, nor by the pressure of external forces, but by a kind of gradual spiritual discovery, it means the fellowship of believers in Christ organized in various ways and in various centres for the purpose of the making and remaking of humanity. The church is to continue the work of Jesus, who labored that man might repent and be regenerated for the Kingdom of God. Not only so, the church in doing so is, in reality, fulfiling the aspirations of the nations. It was not Jesus alone who insisted on the making of a new

*An address delivered to the Conference on "Education for Service in hte Chinese Church," held on Kuling, July 18 to 27, 1935. Slightly modified ofr publication.

humanity. The seers of various countries and generations saw the vision of an enlightened and renewed humanity. Many have agreed with John Keats that the world is "the vale of soul making." In many of Plato's great dialogues, Socrates insists that the most important task of man is the tendance of his soul, through music and gymnastics, then through calculation and logic, and finally through dialectic, until at last the human mind, by an act of insight and vision, sees the Form of the Good, the absolutely Real that informs the soul of its own immortality. In the same way Chinese sages have aimed at the making of man, though their approach has been rather different. For them, the greatest achievement of man as man is the realization of self and the realization of the nature of things.

But man cannot be made or remade without religion; for he gradually becomes what he should be only with conscious reference to and in conscious relation with Ultimate Reality. Even those who do not need religion persist in making metaphysical references of some sort. And the function of the church is to mediate the regenerating power of its own religious faith. It is true that a great modern philosopher has told us that "religion is what a man does with his own solitariness," thus seemingly making religion a matter of individual concern; but it is also true that the same thinker gives to the world a system of thought known as "the philosophy of organism." The individual is an organism by itself as a particular thing and consequently should realize what it means to be itself, in solitariness. The individual is, however, also a part of larger and larger organisms and consequently, on the other hand, he must as a religious soul, deal with the fellowship of believers in faith and in service. The individual and the religious group, which is the church, maintain a constant mutual and reciprocative relationship. The church through its traditions, symbols, dogmas, and services to God and to men, imparts its accummulated experiences to the believer who in turn, through his understanding and ability to interpret these, makes his particular and fresh contribution to the life of the church. Thus, by mutual suggestions and by the interpenetration of living forces, the vitality of religion is maintained and the individual is being made.

Now the making of souls is a process of salvation—a gradual and continuous process of the soul's attainment to higher integrations. In the course of such integrations, a man is not only saved from sin, but is also led by the Spirit of God to a fuller life of holiness through contact with the Whole. No human

being who exercises a measure of freedom in matters moral and spiritual, can attain to complete perfection in this world. As long as he is in the process, he cannot shake off temporality and consequently cannot cease from being made. The unqualified question : "I am saved, are you ?" is nothing short of inexcusable ignorance or pitiable self-importance. Man is always being made, no matter how saintly he may become or how firmly his moral character may have become established. Soul-making, indeed, is *the* task of the church, which must therefore be vigilant, keeping watchful eyes on its own ideal lest it too relapse as a man does who ceases to watch and pray. The church after all is nothing but a bigger man in the making and has the constant danger of succeeding less than the individuals within its fold. There always is the need of revolutionary spirits to criticize it and even to disown it at times, which recognizes the spiritually adventurous and thorough-going alone as the true church! History indicates the salutary effects of such rebellions.

The church means, again, a fellowship of believers who through corporate worship, come to realize the presence of God among themselves. It is the organization wherein man meets and faces God. He can indeed have a vision of the Divine in solitude ; but he cannot do so without having inherited some collective ideas and feelings, which he must carry into his lonely communion with God. It is not too much to say that God is never real to men until He is socially realized. That is why to the ordinary Chinese person, God always seems a vague and uncertain Somewhat with whom he has very little to do and about whom he cannot feel much concerned ; while to you who are brought up in the atmosphere of ecclesiastical life, God appears to follow you wherever you go. Furthermore, God is unreal unless He is presented in the consciousness of the believing as their Social Ideal through the collective re-enforcement, in turn, of the believing community. It the Christian religion, this Ideal is also transcendental in that It is The Given which has revealed Itself in history, giving power and direction to the lives of those who would respond to It as the Ultimately Real.

The church as a fellowship of believers helps a man in two ways in its corporate worship. It leads him to gain his own peace and freedom from sin, conflict, and anxiety, by a transference of control over the self to God and by a deliverance from the self, the conservation of which on a lower level of living is a real hindrance to its higher development. It also helps him

to grow out of his own unreality. As an impermanent thing characteristic of temporality, the individual occupies the anomalous position of one who tries to reach Reality through his own unreality. It is only when he is led by grace to face God and to grasp Him in faith that he begins to participate in the life of God the Ultimately Real, and to find his own unreality swallowed up in the tremendous Reality of God. In this way, as life becomes God-centered instead of being self-centered, a human person acquires cosmic or ontological significance. St. Augustine uttered the deepest need of the human soul when he said: "My soul rests not until it rest in Thee." And he was also right when he asserted that there could be no salvation outside the church, if by the church we mean the spiritual fellowship within which we face the God of our salvation.

But the church is very weak today, because it has got entangled in the general modern bewilderment in regard to the idea of God—a wide-spread ailment which exists in China as well as in the West. In fact, the confusion on this matter in the West, further intensifies the Chinese desire to disregard it altogether. Thoughtful Chinese sometimes say that they do not see why there should be a God to rule the universe, A human being like Jesus or Confucius is God enough. But others say that they could understand why people believe in a God who rules the universe, but are unable to penetrate the mystery of deifying Jesus or Confucius to make real the God whom they believe. Chinese cosmic humanism does not seem to need the way of salvation that the church thus far has been falteringly offering to China. In the West, on the other hand, many Christian people are at a loss to know what to think about God, being no longer certain that the God whom Jesus revealed two thousand years ago and whom the church has believed throughout the ages, has an existence at all. In their lives is manifested an unrelieved tension between a world without God and a soul that is in urgent need of Him. If God reveals Himself always in and through Nature and if prayers alter not His ways thus revealed, what real difference does it make when one accepts Nature instead of God and lives his life accordingly? And yet the human soul, in its deepest experience, knows that it cannot live save by the power that descends upon him as the Supernatural. A man is indeed good; but his goodness is vain unless he can be elevated to the realm of that which is *more than* both Nature and human nature.

The church, in the third place, is the seat of spiritual authority, the kind of authority in which the human soul finds

confidence and shelter from forces that tend to wreck the foundations of life. Historically speaking, the church has been important because of its authority in spiritual matters, whether this authority is held by a Pope or centered in the Bible or rooted elsewhere. But in recent times, all this is shaken to its very bottom. Will the church stand the test of "the acid of modernity?" No longer is sheer conservatism able to keep authority in its grip. It only comes into endless conflict with the growing sense of freedom and emancipation of the day. Not infrequently those who attack the authority of the church have a stronger case to present than the church has to defend; for they are more prophetic than the church in delivering people from superstition, dogmatism, and various kinds of spiritual bondage. But they too become frail and feeble when they have accomplished the easy task of destruction without offering a sufficient spiritual authority to take the place of that which they have taken so much pains to break down. They have not reckoned with the strange fact that the gain of freedom is insecure until it is rectified in the recognition of a spiritual authority that can make this new freedom a permanent possession. If the church realizes this as fact, it must begin to seek to restore its own authority upon which the spiritual welfare of mankind depends.

The question then is: What are the sources of this authority? It is mere platitude so say that the spiritual authority of the church now no longer lies with its priesthood or its clergy as such. Nor does it lie in the Bible, without historical criticism and scientific interpretation; for the intelligent today, instead of taking the Bible as the standard of spiritual truth, seek to reach criteria in the nature of knowledge and experience, to judge the validity of all claims to truth. Wherein then is the seat of spiritual authority whithout which the church is non-existent?

In the first place, it must be founded on genuine religious experience—on the inner grasp of God—that belongs to religious souls. Without experience, nothing in the way of spiritual truths, can be asserted or affirmed. The history of the church is one of religious experiences that made its faith real and powerful. But mere claims of such experiences, especially at a time when several religions come face to face with their own special assertions, are fraught with dangers and difficulties. He who receives a direct revelation from Jesus may easily be contradicted by one who is inspired by the Goddess of Mercy. A

modernist who is bewildered as to what really constitutes religious experience, may be ridiculed by a fundamentalist who is experience fortified by the literal interpretation of the Bible. Not only can they oppose each other, but in their act of reverence, they may piously oppose God by His own Word! *A* is inspired by God to say "Yes" to a matter, while *B* says "No" on account of the same kind of inspiration. And not only so: even if these opponents come together and say that they have had a community of religious experience unknown to the outside and uncriticized, they still have no claims to spiritual authority. For after all, their assertions cannot be distinguished from mere mutual and coincident suggestions that may be purely deceptive. Religion is so full of deception, so easily abused, that spiritual authority cannot be built upon alleged experiences alone.

It may be said, therefore, that religious experience is invalid until it is rectified in ethical character and conduct. Even here a word of warning is not out of place. For what do we mean by ethical character and conduct? The seeker of truth is not afraid of being over-particular in his scrutiny of things, believing that truth does not need the use of lies for defense, nor does it change color on cross examination. It is not sufficient apparently to say that religious experience plus ethical character and conduct constitutes the spiritual authority of the church. Something else is needed.

So, in addition, the church must have that instrument which will enable it to judge and to separate the true from the false. It must possess, in other words, thoroughgoing knowledge and deep learning. I am not unaware that in certain quarters of the church, there is always an impatience with the slow, difficult, and often dispassionate process of gaining knowledge, especially in spiritual things. The need of man for religion is no doubt, immediate and practical, and cannot bear with much waiting. Consequently, evangelists like John Sung, Leland Wang, and the rest are more welcome than careful thinkers. The former can sway large numbers while the latter cannot. Being good representatives of the church in China at large, emotional and ignorant evangelists offer religion on the strength of passion and emotional release, as something cheaper and easier than a faith soundly built up upon a foundation in knowledge related to the culture of the people and the advanced thought of the day. Opium relieves pain and suffering immediately and perhaps, in cases of emergency, *should* set scientific sanitation at defiance! However, without disparaging the

importance of religious fervor and emotional urge, it must be said that that portion of the church that thinks lightly of the need of scientific knowledge in spiritual things is doing the Christian cause in China a great harm. It is rather surprising that people can believe that in every walk of life the modern world calls for the specialist and the expert, and yet think that any one with high emotional temperature only can preach the Christian gospel. Christianity is indeed for the common folk; but its gospel has an intellectual height and depth that goes beyond the grasp of cooks and peddlers. It is true that Jesus used fishermen and publicans to spread His message. It is nevertheless true that Jesus was the greatest of thinkers and teachers who had taken great pains in training the ignorant for His work. Nor did Jesus despise knowledge. On the contrary, He would have made devout Pharisees and scribes His apostles had He been able to convert them to His cause. It was He who said: "Every scribe who has become a disciple of the Realm of Heaven is like a householder who produces what is new and what is old from his stores." And He did have St. Paul as apostle to the Gentile world, which needed an adequate interpretation of His message.

One sometimes wonders why Protestantism in China has not produced great Chinese theologians. It seems as though the church has never realised that it has to move among a people whose intellectual leaders will insist on an intelligible interpretation of everything that comes from the outside, and that China will not be won to Christ if her intellectuals look upon Christian thought as something rather beneath their intellectual contempt. For who will not despise the church if, within its fold, foolishness sits in judgement of wisdom, ignorance occupies places that belong to intelligence, and blind emotion holds knowledge in derision. One may indeed find excuses for the church in China for not having produced theologians. The idea has, for instance, been circulated that the Chinese are humanistically inclined, interested only in practical social problems rather than in the intricacies of theological questions that have been a bother to the Western world. All this seems to be so true! The fact is, however, that such an interpretation leaves out the very important thought that before recent times the Chinese too, had no or little interest in science and that centuries ago, Chinese Buddhists had steeped themselves in obtuse philosophies of religion that were very much out of tune with their own "spiritual inheritance." It is more than doubtful, therefore, that the dearth of Chinese theologians has been due to a peculiarity of the

Chinese temperament. The Church in China has seemed to believe that the pursuit of knowledge is the task of people interested in secular things and that " knowledge is of things we see" only.

So let it be emphatically stated here that without laying great stress on thorough-going scholarship and without encouraging it, there will not be learning in the church; without learning, there will not be real theologians; without theologians, there will not be a theology, a fresh and satisfactory interpretation of the Christian gospel to the people, true to the Christian revelation and in harmony with the genius of Chinese culture; without such a theology, there will be no spiritual authority in which man can find confidence to face the gravities of life; and without such an authority, there will not be a real church in China.

Now, to sum up, the authority of the church consists in three things, namely, religious experience, moral character, and scientific learning. Wherever these three things exist together, whether in the clergy or in the laity, whether in the individuals scattered throughout the church, or in organized groups, there is spiritual authority for those who believe. Such an authority is never imposed: it is in its very spirit opposed to the thought of imposition. It exerts its own peculiar influences which are irresistable and receives recognition from and acceptance by the believing for their guidance. It is similar to the authority that Jesus possessed during His earthly minstry, a combination of deep religious experience, moral excellence, and cogent logic and concrete interpretations of the deepest of spiritual truths. To Jesus, the struggling soul offers the prayer: "Make me a captive, Lord, and then I shall be free." Likewise, in the spiritual authority of the church, as recognized and accepted not as imposed, people will discover a true reconciliation of freedom and authority for which they consciously or unconsciously yearn. The church is established as this becomes a fact.

The church however, is not only an authority, but is also a prophetic voice. It must give spiritual sustenance and power when the believing are in need of them. At the present time, facing a grave national crisis, the Chinese people, especially the youths, are in deep need of spiritual guidance. They are confronted with the most perplexing of problems, and want the church to clarify the issues for them. They desire a clear-cut, unhesitant condemnation of social, political, and international wrongs. They want even to ask whether the church has a pro-

gram of social reform, beyond the patch-up work which it has been trying to do. It is disappointing to not a few that the church should dabble even in a mild from of opportunism. When some politician or general joined the church, for instance, it at once saw the advantage of using his name for propaganda, forgetting that in so doing it incurs the danger of involving itself in inconsistencies and of losing its hold on idealistic youths within its pale. When the Three Peoples' Principles of Dr. Sun were proclaimed, church people in various places began to utter an echo, showing what Dr. Sun said was exactly what Jesus taught and that therefore Christianity was on the side of the nation's ambitions. But in fact, Christianity is more and other than all that. And when the Chinese Government, under the leadership of general Chiang, launches a "New Life Movement," the church is stirred up to give its endorsement. In these things, the church indeed has no intention to cheapen its own message. But alas! in all these things, the church cannot but appear to have become a mere echo, instead of being the original and creative voice of a prophetic faith.

Young Christians sometimes become communists, not simply because in communism they can find a plan of social, economic, and political revolution agreeable to their passionate natures, but what is more important than that, they discern a courage in it, much akin to that of the first century martyrs, that is very attractive to them. Then, as they look back at the church in contrast, they see something far less alluring,—a great machine running often out of gear, without a soul! Their estimate of the church, no doubt, is very unfair, for the church in all reality has never lost sight of the young people in spite of the fact that it has not understood how to help them in their constantly changing needs. During the last five years, several denominations have made efforts to help their youths. Perhaps, under the present conditions, the real prophetic voice for the young can only be uttered by a few in the wilderness. And they who desire to hear it, will have to go to the church in the wilderness, to the few who think in terms of adventures rather than of the maintenance of a complicated *status quo.*

Perhaps for the same reason, so many spiritual movements are being carried on outside of the organized church. Under the oppression of poverty and disease, the common folk need physical comfort, promises of heaven, and immediate healing without cost. These they do not receive from within the church can get from the outside, from the hands of individual

evangelists. Others who are more well-to-do and more intelligent, desire to have some assurance that their religion will fortify them against the growing uncertainties of life. What they want is to be spiritually prepraed for an unknown future, now emerging from under a threatening gloom. For these purposes, consciously or unconsciously held, they turn not to the church, but to such gatherings as the "Little Flock," to the evangelistic bands of John Sung, to those who proclaim the second coming of Jesus, and to Oxford Groups where "transparent sharing" may be enjoyed. No doubt, considering the nature of the needs and of the times, the great uncertainties ahead, and the insistent urges of "the spiritual movements", these religious phenomena are not without their value and may be viewed broadly as a help to the church where it fails to meet the pressing needs of its people. But if, at a time like this, the church searches its heart in the direction of its prophetic function, these so called "spiritual movements" are clearly a challenge to it, on *the* vital issue of its life!

The church is a prophetic voice. It should condemn, comfort, encourage, and restore, speaking as the representative of God to His people, perplexed over the great problems of the present life. What then is its message?

Finally, the church is the creative matrix from which believers find life and power for social service. It makes no distinction between an individual gospel and a social gospel, for its message is both, teaching that the salvation of the individual soul is intricately and invariably involved in the regeneration of the social organism. Therefore it cannot be itself without an effective and clear-cut program for social service. Its primary function, let it be said again, is the making of the human soul. Its task is, on this account, through and through creative and prophetic because it expects to see personalities emerge from its tendance better and nobler than what they are, growing into the full stature of the Christ. But in order to accomplish this, it must send its own into the up-building of society. Through its members in social service, it may keep its own spiritual wealth unimpaired. Through them, it may open schools, establish hospitals, form literary and other organizations. It may also give them up as soon as these institutions can stand by themselves. Throughout humam history, religion is the foster-mother not only of philanthropic work, but of human culture in general. Religion as organized has given impetus to the development of music, poetry, drama, architecture, scripture, scienec

philosophy, law, commerce, warfare, and govenment. After long periods of protection and nurture under the wings of religion, these things declared one by one their independence. In the case of Christianity, the church made inestimable contributions to the cultural and humanitarian advancement of the world. It lives by losing itself in the independence of its offsprings. But one function—the fundamental one—the church always retains, and that is, the making of men and women, the development of personalities in the communion of the human with the Divine and in the communion of the saints within its fold.

Perhaps, in the light of the above statements it may be said that the church always holds a clear-cut but changing program of social service. It does not need to do what the government and the people of the land can do. Inasmuch as its work is creative, it simply initiates and by its prophetic intuition, sharpened by love and holiness, sees new needs and services, which it starts and leaves for others to finish or change, in order that it may apply its creative energies to other and ever-emerging social tasks. It does what others do not do and gives up what it does to others when they are ready to accept responsibilities.

The social meaning of Christianity and also of the church is in its being the leaven in the community in which it finds itself. The central social task of the church is the leavening of the lump, or "Christianizing the social order", through the spirit and the services of its members in society. Being a community within a community, it may be graphically represented as a circle within a larger circle. It trains ministers, preachers, pastors, and other types of workers for the development of the inner circle, wherein power is generated and regenerated, so that those who are in the inner circle, may receive strength for work either within or in the environing community, which, when more or less leavened by its spirit, may be called the church by permeation!

In this address the church is thought of in terms of its vital functions, for the meaning of a living organism means what it does and aims at doing. But it may be conceived in various other ways: it may be considered historically, vertically as a continuous succession of saints and apostles and horizontally as a world fellowship of living believers, the Body of Christ whose sweep should inspire all who are within its confines; it may be dealt with as a mighty organization, with varying types of administration and with a machinery, complicated and simplified many a time, in its long process of development; and it may be

metaphysically and theologically treated, with interpretations of the origin, growth, and development of its thought systems and organizations, showing its divine-human character and its spiritual possessions. All these aspects of the church are of great importance. But as we are here concerned with the meaning of the church, especially for us in China, it is only appropriate for us to study it in terms of its functions. May the prayer be fulfilled that a great church that is one in itself and one with the Church Universal, self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating, be firmly established for the spiritual regeneration and guidance of this land.

CHAPTER IX

CHRISTIAN WORK IN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

KIANG WEN-HAN.

NEVER before has the government school field in China been more challenging to Christian workers than at present. The Youth and Religion Movement of the Y.M.C.A. during the past two years has revealed unmistakable evidence that the government and non-Christian private schools now constitute a ripe field for Christian evangelism. Great opportunities have been opened up by the Eddy and the Youth and Religion Deputation Campaigns, and we are everywhere embarrassed by the woeful inadequacy of our Christian forces to meet them. Both Dr. Eddy and the Deputation team have had very warm receptions in their visits to government schools and have found that the students are wistfully responsive to the Christian message. As a matter of fact, they all agree that the students in government schools are much less complacent and self-satisfied than those in Christian institutions.

A tremendous task has been left behind by these Youth and Religion Movement Campaigns. It has been estimated that the total attendance of the Eddy and the Deputation meetings amounts to 339,595 and the total numder of "decisions" to 12,832. Our Association secretaries and church workers are simply bewildered about the follow-up work. "The harvest is plenteous, but the laborers are few." The majority of the "enquirers" belong to the class of educated youth. In cities like Taiyuan and Yunnanfu, where there are practically no significant Christian schools, the predominant number of student "enquirers" come from government institutions. Educational commissioners and educators were generally very co-operative. Students in government and non-Christian private schools have in a number of cases been allowed to omit classes in order to attend Youth and Religion meetings. With these new opportunities before us, should we be surprised that Dr. John R. Mott gave expression to his "imperial vision" during his recent visit to China, by

saying that he would try to secure one hundred people for student work in China?

The mere fact that government and non-Christian private schools increasingly out-number Christian institutions must arrest the attention of those who are interested in student work in China. According to the latest statistics, there are 111 universities and colleges in the country, of which only eighteen are Christian. Out of a total of about 40,000 students in these universities and colleges only 3,500 are in Christian institutions. In regard to the middle schools, only 196 out of a total of 1,892 are Christian institutions and only 30,000 students out of 400,000 are in Christian institutions. Roughly we may say that only one-tenth of our college and middle school students are studying in Christian institutions and thereby gaining some kind of knowledge about Christianity, whereas the other nine-tenths are practically unreached by direct Chistian influences. Peiping and Shanghai are known as "college cities." In Peiping, there are five government universities, five non-Christian private universities, and only two Christian universties (one Protestant and one Catholic). The ratio in Shanghai is 6:10:3, (two Protestant and one Catholic). These Government and non-Christian private schools have not only gained in number but also in academic standards and prestige. Having suffered from the effects of economic depression and the lack of correlation and coordination, the Christian colleges and middle schools are gradually lagging behind the quick advances of the government and the non-Christian private institutions.

The Y.M.C.A., with its inter-denominational background and its specialization in work for educated youth, has been the pioneer in work among government schools. The chief objective of the student work of the Y.M.C.A. is to find lodgement within the schools, trying to utilize the natural solidarity of student life in the formation of groups resident in the school. At present, Y.M.C.A.'s and Christian fellowship grups have been organized in about fifteen government and non-Christian private colleges and universities. These are student-motivated and student-controlled Christian "cells" projected in a non-Christian environment. Many tales can be told as to how some of these groups have suffered from the sarcasms and the cutting criticisms of their fellow-students. In the high tide of the anti-Christian movement, no Christian gatherings could be held on the campus of a government university and any announcement of a membership campaign would be torn down immediately after it was put

up. But many of these groups have been able to maintain an unbroken continuity of ten or fifteen years or longer in spite of an unfriendly environment and occasional persecutions.

Several factors now make our work in the non-Christian institutions more promising than in the past. In the first place, we find that there is an increase in the number of Christians or of students from Christian middle schools in government universities. Christians seem less able economically to send their sons and daughters to Christian schools, They are, therefore, attending non-Christian schools in increasing number. There are at least a few Christian students, sometimes as many as twenty or thirty, in the majority of the non-Christian schools. The Christian schools become more and more the schools for the well-to-do. Second, there is a surprisingly wide sprinkling of Christian teachers or young professors who have had some favorable contacts with the Y.M.C.A. or other Christian agencies in the Christian schools. These often form the nucleus or the main supporters of our student Christian associations in the government institutions. Third, in many schools the student organizations have been taken hold of by political organizations and the only organizations that can work with confidence is a Christian group. The fact that the student secretary of the city Y.M.C.A. helps to make sure that it will not be abused so as to cause trouble increases this confidence. Fourth, the anti-Christian forces are now dormant and the non-Christian students are generally more open-minded to the message of religion. As a matter of fact, the past few years have witnessed an even greater interest on the part of Chinese students in the Christian religion as a result of the advance of Japanese aggression in China, of international unrest, and of the suppression of free thought and action.

The spiritual hunger of the students is expressed in various groups. First, there is the group of cynics. The subject of religion has been dismissed entirely from their minds as unworthy of consideration. In their minds, religion is superstition, "an opiate for the people." They look for short-cuts and quick results in the solution of personal and social problems. They form the fertile soil of totalitarian doctrines such as communism and fascism. This group requires most patience and sympathy on the part of our Christian workers if they are to succeed in levelling the walls of pride and bitterness between them and Christianity. Next, we have the open-minded group. The students of this group show a genuine interest in Christianity

and are curious to know what Christianity can do in the present situation. They are truth-seeksrs and hence possess a rather hard-shelled defense mechanism. Their chief obsession is the inviolability of "science" or the "scientific attitude," and their measurement of the value of Christianity is its practicality and effectiveness. The main problem with members of this group is what to do with them when once their interest in religion is aroused. The third group consists of indifferentists. They are either bookworms or self-satisfied pleasure-seekers. It seems hard to discover a moral or spirtual focus in their lives. But deep down in their hearts, they are not at ease and often ask questions such as these: "What is the meaning of life?" or "What are we educated for?" The planting of "a mustard seed" will eventually bring Christ into the inner consciousness of this group of students.

As compared with Christian institutions, the government schools present many challenging characteristics. Generally speaking, they are characterized by their looseness and heterogeneity. This is partly due to the lack of general oversight on the part of the school authorities and partly to the deliberate emphasis on academic freedom. Perhaps the greater unmber of students, the general lack of good dormitories, the employment of part-time teachers, and the constant change of administration are accountable for the difficulty in fostering more compact life and better personal attention such as one finds in most of the Christian schools. Noteworthy also is the composition of the student bodies of the government schools. Because of the comparatively low tuition, (in some government schools, there is practically no tuition at all), and because of the comparatively less insistence about recommendations or introductions at the time of admission, the government schools have come to take in both the best and the worst elements of the student body, leaving most of the mediocre students in the Chrisian institutions. This mixture of a great diversity of preparations and backgrounds helps to create an atmosphere that is open to a great variety of thoughts and tastes in the government schools. The students of the government schools may be generally rather crude in some of their life-habits but they are more sensitive to social and national happenings and are thus more easily manipulated by political influences. Again, the government schools are characterized by the lack of a conscious and organized program for the extra-curricular life of students. The emphasis is placed so much on teaching and learning that very little has been done along lines that are conducive to character building or leadership training.

It is true that there are various athletic activities and discussion groups in the government schools but these are not especially intended for moral or ethical training. Personal contacts between teachers and students are so meager that the students do not profit by the exemplary influences of the senior people. The government schools are thus in need of more conscious and organized forces working for the moral and spiritual growth of the students on their campuses.

In work with government school students, we must broaden our conception of Christian evangelism. The task of evangelism is not simply one of saving lost souls but the reconstruction of life in all its relationships. In other words, our Christian work centers on "Life Education." Too much of Christian evangelism during the last few years has been confined to Christian circles and too much has been of the emotional and revivalistic type. But Christianity will gradually lose its freshness and vitality if it does not extend its crusade into the government schools. The strength of Christianity always lies in its out-reaching missionary spirit. History tells us that Christianity will cease to be vital the moment it ceases to be missionary. In China the most strategic class for missions is that of educated youth. The success of Christian missions in China can be gauged by their success in winning Chinese educated youth to Christ.

Life education has two important implications. First, it does not aim at an "escape" from the world but the attainment of an abundant life. Second, life education involves a reconstruction of all phases of life and thus extricates itself from the futile controversy between "personal" and "social" gospels. Three outstanding values can usually be attained in this emphasis of life education in work among government schools. We should first help the students to get an experience of a new quality of friendship. Our experience shows that most of the students have been brought to the Christian faith throught contacts with the personalities of Christian workers. The students' desire guidance and counsel especially in their times of need and despair. Many a student does not have a right conception of life and feels cramped under the pressure of various personal problems. For instance, one predominant question in their mind is "What will be the way-out after graduation?" Graduation from school often means unemployment in society. It is estimated that out of 7,000 college graduates each year, only about 2,000 can actually find work. Then there are other per-

sonal problems such as that of sexual relationships and family adjustment. But genuine friendship is the only key that helps to open up these personal perplexities and mental conflicts which have dissipated much of the energy of our educated youth.

Our work also aims at developing a new quality of corporate living. Since the students form one of the most articulate organs of public opinion in China, they find themselves often engaged in social and political activities. The recent outburst of the student movement resulting from the false "autonomy" movement in North China has once again demonstrated the daring and revolutionary spirit of the Chinese youth The discipline and organization of their various demonstrations and of their propaganda work in interior cities and villages during the winter vacation have been most admirable. In line with this earnest desire for participation in the task of national salvation, the devlopment of the right type of corporate living is essential. Can we, as Christian workers, help the students to cultivate a passion for social justice, to adhere rigidly to the highest motives even if it involves persecution, and to develop a sensitiveness to the sufferings and needs of our fellow-men? Can we find constructive and concrete ways of identifying ourselves with them?

Above all, we must also aim to lead the students to a better understanding of Christ and Christianity. There are many students who follow a single track—science and machinery. It is through Bible study and some experience of worship that we may help to break down the conception that all religion is superstitious and so get to know Christianity as something more than just a philosophy of life or a system of ethics. Faith that God is in Christ calls forth an enthusiasm for life, a desire for fellowship, and a yearning for some concrete opportunities to render service to other people. In a time of change and confusion, the Christian message strikes a note of hope and supplies a dynamic purpose in life which no adverse circumstances can shake. Our ultimate goal is to prepare the students for membership in the church, and to encourage them to band themselves together in a fellowship aiming "to understand the Christian faith and to live the Christian life" in their own school.

Acceptance of the challenge of this immense field of government and non-Christian private schools, calls for a fairly large staff of full-time student workers in the various student centers. The Christian worker must not only know student work, and himself possess attractive personality and courage, but he must

be able to meet educators on their own ground in the field of education and win their respect. At present there are perhaps only very few men of this grade available for this work in China. The calling of men of high calibre presents our local associations and local churches with difficult problems. Yet we see no other way to cope successfully with the situation, especially in the univer- sities. A highly qualified personnel is the only key to success. Along with the problem of an adequate trained personnel, there is also the problem of correlation and coordination. Even with the handful of workers we have in the field at present, our work in the government schools could have been much more effective if the workers had been better coordinated and their programs better correlated. It is important to urge our local associations, national church officers, and mission administrators to set aside more workers for the government school field. But it is even more important that the increased number of workers function more or less as a team presenting a real "united front" in the common promotion of the Kingdom of God.

CHAPTER X

PRESENT STATUS OF THE CHINA CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

FRANK RAWLINSON,

What I write on this subject must of necessity be realistic and objective. I write of things as they are, rather than as I wish they were. To develop this latter approach would result, of course, in an entirely different article.

A passing reference to the status of Christianity in China thirty years ago provides a suggestive comparison to begin with. At that time there was, in general, agreement as to both the evangelistic message and the work of the Christian Church in China. The Church, too, was more exclusively the objective and centre of effort than it now appears to be. Dependence on treaty rights was still in evidence; such rights as Christianity now has are granted by the Chinese people willingly; the treaties hardly affect them. The impulse towards social and economic reconstruction was not then felt in either the nation or the Church to the degree that it now is. Then social effort by Christians was a matter mainly of reforms such as anti-narcotism and anti-footbinding; Christian service in China now includes practically every aspect of social reconstruction.

Christianity appears to be permanently settled in China. In activities and message it is much more divergent than formerly. It is largely under Chinese leadership and is becoming somewhat less dependent on western funds. To that extent, at least, it has become more China-centric. It is no longer mainly a projection of western Christian effort into China. Christians in China are finding their own forms of service and are seeking for their own expressions of the Christian message. True, the transfer of neither Christian initiative nor motivity in China is complete; the various Christian contingencies are moving past this point with greatly differing speeds. Nevertheless Christianity may now be deemed a part of China's heritage: Christians are experimenting with the resources of China and aiming at meeting China's needs as these are seen through Chinese eyes.

We may now speak of the China Christian movement instead of the Christian movement in China. This change in designation suggests the keynote to the present status of Christianity in China.

Three questions will open up the analysis of the subject set for consideration. First, what is the status of the China Christian movement as revealed in its present activities? Second, what is its present relationship to the Chinese people? Third, what are the outstanding trends within it?

To begin with the present activities of the China Christian movement: these are more aggressive, varied and widespread, viewed as a whole than ever before in the history of Christianity in China. The status of Christian education is changed, in that elementary schools are curtailed, middle schools are losing somewhat in attendance and are facing the necessity of making their curricula vocational, while higher education is holding its own. In general all Christian education has passed under Chinese control, and has in the main adjusted itself to governmental educational requirements. Its two major problems are that as built up it is beyond the financial strength of the Chinese Christian group to support, and that no satisfactory way of correlating its various institutions has yet been found. Foreign standards of outlay, institutional individualism and momentum still hinder a decision as to its ultimate status, though more attention is being paid to quality than to quantity.

Christian medical work is going forward It is still ahead of governmental and private efforts in China in the number and distribution of hospitals and in the funds invested in them All but five of these hospitals have an average of five Chinese doctors each. There is more promise as regards general coordination of effort in them than in either the schools or the Church. Some 72 per cent of the receipts for the maintenance of hospitals comes from patients, fees and Chinese gifts. Because it is more dependent on Chinese resources, Christian medical work is becoming more an agent of service to the middle class, i.e. those who can pay. The same thing is true of Christian schools. Thus institutionally—less true of the Church—Christianity in China is less marked than formerly by service to the underprivileged. Those who are economically the less needy get the greatest benefit. This means gain in financial independence but loss in range of service. It is an inevitable result of the increased financial responsibility for these activities now being put upon Chinese resources.

Of Christian literature not much can be said. In the main it is still traditional in type. Some growth in distribution has been noted. While not great in amount there is appearing literature written by Chinese expounding religion in terms of their own experience. The experimental reconstructive work now being carried on by Christians in many places should enrich their experience to the point where such literature will show a sharp increase in the not distant future.

Viewed as a whole it is in propagandist efforts that Christian activity in China is most widespread. The messages given thereby are quite divergent. The large number of Chinese evangelists engaged in this work is one of its striking features. The Bethel band, for instance, in three and a half years visited 91 large cities and organized 777 gospel bands. Among not a few independent evangelists, Dr. John Sung is outstanding. In Shantung and North China the indigenous spiritual movement is still going on. It contains both good and questionable elements, though it tends to discard its earlier excesses. It was initiated and promoted by Chinese Christians. Evangelistic campaigns are quite prominent in the organized Church also. These campaigns are carried on mostly by Chinese Christians; indeed, what is called 'evangelistic work,' more than any other type of Christian activity, is now being carried on by Chinese. The Group movement in China grew rapidly in 1934; up to date its leadership is mostly missionary. Finally there is the youth and religion campaign, carried on under the auspices of the Y. M.C.A., the main speakers being Drs Sherwood and Brewer Eddy. It was set up in twenty-one cities. Both those in authority and students responded to its message everywhere with enthusiasm, Like Dr John Sung and others, these western prophets pointed out fearlessly the sins of China which call for repentance and restitution. That their message was received with only rare instances of demur on the part of the Chinese is significant. A Chinese prophet could not go to the United States and lay about so lustily with his flail as these Americans did in China. That fact speaks well for the willingness of modern Chinese to give heed to any prophet who is sincere; China shows no tendency to prefer any particular type of prophet.

This list of propagandist campaigns began with those that are traditional in tone and ends with those of a more modern note. Outside the rural campaigns carried on by the organized Church and the spiritual movement in North China they were urban; Christian propagandists of to-day find cities most

suitable for their purpose. All of them, with the exception of the youth and religion campaign and a few enterprises carried on by churches, emphasized almost exclusively personal religion and ethics; they had little relation to reconstructive movements. This fact is, indeed, quite marked. For instance, I asked an ardent advocate of the Group movement whether a successful group meeting in Hankow, which he was eagerly reporting to me, had any connexion with the youth and religion campaign conducted in the same city. 'None,' he replied. The campaigns carried on by Chinese evangelists, the Spiritual movement and a large percentage of organized church campaigns are emotional in stress; original thinking is not prominent in them; their messages are largely echoes of traditional and transplanted ideas. That is true though Chinese leaders play by far the larger part in them. In not a few cases there has been frequent and sometimes prolonged emphasis on the doctrine of the Lord's return. In general the old messages as given have a weak meaning for those seeking a new China. Only the youth and religion campaign made, apparently, any special effort to reach youth and combine in its message both the individual and social implications of Christian allegiance.

All these campaigns received a ready hearing. They all induced, in varying degrees, changes in individual conduct, though to attempt to point out which promises to be more successful or lasting in this regard would involve me in what would be deemed invidious comparisons. Their major emphasis was on individual salvation. To the use of China's ethical and religious values they gave, so far as I know, little attention; any thinking going on in this field was drowned by echoes of traditional ideas. Interestingly enough, I have reasons to believe that thoughtful Chinese Christians are free from inhibitions in this field.

It is probably true, though I cannot prove it statistically, that more Chinese were reached by propagandist efforts in 1934 than in any previous year of the history of Christianity in China. Certainly it is true that, judged by the distribution of its efforts and the numbers and classes of people reached, Christianity is most active in its propagandist aspect. It is still depending more on vocal chords than the use of brain or hands in life-wide service, its status is primarily that of a propagandist organization. A large proportion of Christian literature is likewise propagandist. The China Christian movement still talks individually more than it acts socially.

The next point to be considered is the relation of the China Christian movement to the life and people of China. In dealing

with this topic I am essentially giving an answer to the question: 'What is the present attitude of the Chinese people to Christianity?' In reply a number of points may be made with reasonable assurance. Christianity is accepted as one of the religons of China. The anti-Christian mood is quiescent. Though some Chinese educationists may still hope to weaken its influence, none so far as I know now talks of eliminating Christianity. Some high in political authority feel, indeed, that Christianity has a greater significance as regards building life and character in China than any other religion. The New Life movement is in gear with this attitude, though it is far from being general. In medical work co-operation between those within and without the Church goes on quite apart from any question of religious affiliation.

As far as concerted opposition thereto is concerned, the China Christian movement has a free field for both propaganda and service. Though the government's educational requirements still bear heavily on the convictions of some Christians, I know of only one dratsic application of them in recent days: seven primary schools carried on by the Evangelical Lutheran mission in Hankow, involving some eight hundred pupils, were forcibly closed in October 1934 by the Mayor of Hankow, because those in charge declined after being warned to discontinue teaching religion directly.

One of the most significant features of the present status of the China Christian movement is the decided trend towards sympathetic co-operation between governmental and Christian agencies. (This does not include the organized Church which is left to go its own gait.) No discrimination is made now, for instance, by the educational authorities between private (Christian) and government schools; both are investigated and criticized impartially; Chinese educational guidance affects them all. Some government educational funds have been set apart for assisting such schools, in which Christian institutions have shared. To illustrate this trend on a wider basis I may mention Nanking University which received in about a year from Chinese sources $250,000 (silver) for various projects. A considerable proportion of this came from government sources. Banks, too, occasionally invest funds in enterprises under Christian guidance. Christians are, furthermore, at the head of important reconstructive enterprises, such as the Tinghsien experiment—now much more than a mass education movement—and the project of the National Economic Council to set up ten welfare centres in Kiangsi. A

large part of the funds for the Christian experiment at Lichwan (Kiangsi), conducted by the Kiangsi Christian Rural Service Union, comes from Christians in government positions. Between its leaders and those of the National Economic Council in Kiangsi there exists the warmest sympathy and closest co-operation. This Christian experiment has evoked widespread interest and support. Both government and Christian agencies promote mass education, often allied with other reconstructive efforts. The leaders of the New Life movement have appealed fervently for Christian co-operation. This movement, indeed, offers a point of common interest and effort that may yet prove to be of tremendous significance; it has already stimulated some Christian literature. All this means that part of the Christian forces are accepting as their objective the search for the common welfare which is being promoted by some government agencies. A *rapprochement* of government and Christian agencies is under way. China is openly seeking the help of Christians. This is an outstanding feature of the present status of the China Christian movement. It must be noted, however, that this trend towards co-operation between government and Christian agencies has to do with agencies working somewhat apart from the organized Church as such. Of this more later.

Nevertheless it is evident that the Christian agencies concerned are working into the life problems of China in a new and encouraging way. They are recognized as having accepted as part of their obligation the burden of helping to rebuild China. The China Christian movement is functioning as a phase of the present reconstructive consciousness and effort of China. There are lacking, it is true, any strong and generally vocal attacks by Chinese leaders on the issues of opium, slavery, prostitution and militarism. This silence cannot be ignored. But in what might be deemed by contrast the positive aspects of reconstructive activity, the China Christian movement is undoubtedly finding a place. Less is known of this than of its propagandist activity because those engaged in it do not work by propaganda but by hard toil. They are experimenting with ideals, not pro-proclaiming them. This growing participation of the China Christian movement in social rebuilding is the chief argument for changing the phrase used to designate it.

What I have so far dealt with is on the surface; it is easily seen by any observant eye. But underneath and accompanying it, perhaps inevitable corollaries, are certain divergent trends in the China Christian movement, not quite so easily seen. These

constitute the third aspect of its present status. To consider them necessitates looking at the movement from two angles: that of the organized Church and that of the work carried on by Christian agencies which move parallel to, rather than as definite functions of, the organized Church. They overlap somewhat; the distinction is correct, nevertheless; it is necessary, also, because many think that the most distinctive contribution of Christianity to China is in, and must come through, the organized Church. Without attempting to settle that point one way or the other I wish to indicate something of the present status of the organized Church as this bears upon its future. At the same time I wish to show that the China Christian movement now has a significance which goes beyond that of the organized Church, which is certainly no longer the only or main feature of Christianity in China. This is a most important aspect of the present status of the China Christian movement.

The situation of the organized Church is disquieting, no matter how one evaluates it. The Church is still growing numerically and making progress here and there in supporting itself financially, even though this has in part been forced upon it by the financial depression in the West. It is largely under Chinese leadership, though western predilections are more influential in it than in any other aspect of institutional Christianity. The danger confronting it is that it is losing ground as regards leaders and leadership. This is something different from the contracted leadership of Christian schools and medical work by reason of the rise of Chinese leadership in them. Nor has the leadership of the China Christian movement suffered particularly from aggressiveness on the part of other religious movements in China. Leadership in and by the organized Church is failing, apart from these general shifts. Sectarianism is still a heavy drag on its development. Christian unity can hardly be said to be under serious consideration at the moment.[1] Particularly evident is the lack of any widespread Chinese Christian discussion thereof. This is due to the denominational heritage imported from the West, which is still the major factor in the life of the organized Church. There can be little further progress towards Christian unity until Chinese Christians become more generally keen on promoting it. In my

[1] Since this was written, the Standing Committee on Christian Unity of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui has invited representatives of six other communions to meet with them to discuss the situation. This meeting will probably reopen the question. Inasmuch as the report of this meeting has not yet been made public, t is is the only reference I can make to it.—F. R.

judgment missionaries have gone about as far towards a solution as they can alone or even as leaders.

A more disturbing portent is the backward swing in leaders of the organized Church. Educational institutions set up to supply it with leaders have fallen behind in their product, though they have provided leaders in many other fields. Extra-church Christian agencies are drafting youthful leaders away from the organized Church. The Lichwan experiment, for instance, readily secured young college-trained men and women at a really sacrificial salary, though lack of candidates for the ministry is often attributd to the low salaries paid. The general tendency of Christian youth is to seek positions outside the organized Church, whose leaders are, as a matter of fact, ageing; thay are sometimes afraid of youth. The organized Church, indeed, presents a weak appeal to youth either to join its ranks or its ministry; in all too many cases its present leaders expect youth to imitate their sedate pace or stay away. In general, too, it leaves social reconstruction to other agencies thus losing a potent appeal to youth. Its attitude to social reconstruction is in general not defined and in particular is often indifferent, when not hostile.

Thus the organized Church, viewed as a whole, is able neither to win a modern ministry nor follow it if it had one. Those able leaders who are in the Christian ministry are too few and scattered to influence profoundly the destiny of the organized Church. Some urge that the organized Church should pass over its extra-church activities to other agencies and set itself to a narrower, and what is deemed to be its essential, task. But as a whole the organized Church is already too much set on self-perpetuation and too often easily satisfied with leaders who minister to its too limited objective. Unless this trend is deflected, the organized Church may come to a place where it has little meaning outside what it means to itself. It will be a place of refuge from the challenges of China's changing life instead of what it ought to be—a place where strength and inspiration may be gained for mastering them. It will win the Pyrrhic victory of making its own existence secure at the cost of ceasing to be a victorious Church or having a victorious message. For neither Church nor individual has won a spiritual victory until the way to conquer the whole of life has been found. At present the organized Church appears to have short-circuited its dynamic and blown out its leadership fuse.

This backward swing in the organized Church explains why Christian agencies are developing apart from or parallel to it. These, it must be noted, have to do with both the religious life and the life of service, and both Christian experience and service have outgrown the confines of the organized Church. It is between these extra-organized-church agencies and governmental and general Chinese agencies that co-operation is emerging. These wider co-operative movements concern the organized Church very little.

On the religious side we note a growing tendency to found fellowships that are far from being always directly connected with the organized Church. Noting this tendency Francis P. Miller tentatively suggested recently that 'cells' should be organized to fit this situation. Sometimes those sympathetic with this tendency use the phrase a 'churchless Christianity.' In a partial way the gospel bands fit into this category. Freelance Chinese evangelists are quite active in certain sections in drafting members away from the organized Church. The Group movement is its latest and perhaps most aggressive phase. Such fellowships, it is claimed, in large part feed church membership. How far that is true I do not know; certainly they are often made up of church members. Nevertheless, viewed as a whole they show a drift away from the organized Church, which in some subtle way cramps the wider spiritual freedom these groups seek. Were this development taking place within the organized Church, the uncertainty I assume about its future would have much less justification. If response to propagandist campaigns and some growth in membership and self-support are an adequate test of spiritual vitality, then the organized Church in China has vitality. But its evident lack of leaders and leadership, the tendency of Christian groups to hive off and the lack of an effective appeal to youth show that this vitality is overrated. A Christian institution that is growing in numbers and independence, but not creating leaders adequate to lead it forward, will not achieve anything in particular. It may meander around: it will not go forward. Certainly the present vitality of the organized Church is not equal to its opportunities; it provides little leadership in social effort and even in the spiritual life is not holding its own. The dynamic of Christianity is finding avenues of expression outside it.

A word or two more are in order, in reference to those Christian movements that run parallel to the organized Church. It has long been recognized that Christian educational insti-

tutions function somewhat apart from the Church. Their leadership in education and service is in sharp contrast to that of the Church. The same thing is true of organizations such as the Young Women's and Young Men's Christian Associations, and to a less extent of medical work. The religious life of these institutions tends to develop along its own lines. Churches on school campuses are all too often segregated from church life in general—and indeed from most life outside the school. Their Christian graduates too rarely return to their communities to assume leadership in church life.

The social agencies likewise move apart from the organized Church. In saying that I am far from suggesting that one church organization could or should carry them all. But the Church has little responsibility for them. The youth and religion campaign, for instance,finds it necessary to have a separate organization in order to achieve its spiritual and social aims. Rural Christian service unions, while led by church members, have too little vital relation to the organized Church. Most organized churches, too, have a weak consciousness of their relation to the communities of which they are a part. They are cases of spiritual edification in the midst of what are often accounted deserts doomed to despair. In all churches there is preaching about the kingdom of God, but little effort in all but a few of them to make that kingdom a community reality. The organized Church is not alive to its collective tasks; between its purpose and the modern challenges of China there is a widening gap.

Thus the actual range of Christian activity in China extends considerably beyond the borders and purpose of the organized Church. Indeed, between the expression of the Christian dynamic in community-wide service and the meaning of the organized Church a race has started. I should note here that whereas Christian institutions tend to serve mainly the relatively privileged, Christian social agencies are seeking to increase the privileges of the unprivileged. This latter advance balances the former retreat.

There are really two Christian movements in China. They overlap at some points, yet are distinct in aim, scope and relation to non-church agencies. First, there is the organized church movement, still largely western in motivity and activities; then there is that of Christian service-fellowships. The one emphasizes individual salvation and soul-security; the other aims at spiritual freedom, social salvation and economic security for

all. Both movements have a free field to go forward, though the latter seems destined to outstrip the former.

Taken as a whole the China Christian movement has no one clear and compelling objective. The chief problem of Christianity in China is that of uniting the Christian dynamic (alleged to have been planted in individuals in varying degrees) to the Christian collective task. For the mass of church members, Christianity is simply the way out of their personal dilemmas; it ought to be the way whereby they find out how to help China out of her stupendous difficulties. That Christianity thus moves at two speeds—it would be denied that this means two directions—weakens it as a whole. The slower-moving organized Church determines all too often the speed of the whole Christian contingent. Chinese youth, on whom the future of both the Church and the country depend, is thus faced with a false antithesis in Christianity and so is compelled to make a choice that ought to be unnecessary. It is this false antithesis that is causing the organized Church to lose its leaders and leadership and is inducing Christians to hive off in fellowships.

That Christian movement which is growing up apart from the organized Church will, I believe, continue to grow. It expresses the genius of Christianity. It has as its motive force the spirit of Christian adulthood; the organized Church is still too much in leading strings, and will constitute a drag on Christianity as a whole unless there be a break between the two movements. In any event, the organized Church needs to recognize that its worth and vitality must be measured by the scope of its service and not by its ability to keep going.

What might this situation mean for the future? If the organized Church can secure new leaders and enlarge its program these two movements might in time fuse. But if it continues to grow numerically and at the same time allows the lag in its leadership to lengthen, then the movement growing by its side will go far beyond it and may eventually create a form of Christianity more Chinese, in the sense that it will be working in with China's desires for an all-round improvement of life and welfare. That would be the way the break between the two movements would reveal itself.

China's sages have often urged that a government must first promote the welfare of its people. What has been done to actualize this ideal has heretofore been sporadic, superficial and shortlived. Never until to-day has a government in China

tried to promote public welfare scientifically. To-day the promotion of social and economic welfare in China is being tackled with scientfic tools and methods on an experimental scale. In this, extra-church Christian agencies are participating. In this connexion China is being reborn and so, in part, is Christianity in China.

Thoughtful people in China are little interested in the theological disquisitions of Christianity. Some count this a Chinese weakness. But they are interested in Christian ability and willingness to improve life as a whole. The Chinese have always thought in terms of unifying concepts. These are beginning to colour their attitude towards Christianity. Furthermore, thoughtful Chinese, like similar people all over the world, are tired of hearing ideals of human welfare held up, both in and out of the Church, that are not implemented. Unimplemented ideals no longer carry weight. So in China both Chinese and Christian agencies are trying to make their ideals work; they are taking them out of the class of privileged ideas. That Christian movement which is participating in putting ideals to work is bound to go forward.

Does all this mean that in time another organization will arise to take the place of the organized Church? I do not know. But it does imply that the future of Christianity in China is more bound up with that minority movement which seeks to apply religious ideals to the whole of life than it is with the majority movement which emphasizes religious experience by and for itself, and is failing to build up an adequate modern leadership to do even that.

To summarize, then, the present state of the China Christian movement is one of widespread and practically unhampered activity. It has entered into a co-operative relationship with those Chinese agencies aiming at improving the welfare of the people. But within its own life there are appearing two movements, or trends. Both in a general way originated in the organized Church, but the younger and minority movement is leaving the organized Church behind, because it has an aim that is more truly commensurate with the genius of Christianity and the needs and aspirations of China. In this latter regard Christianity is taking a momentous step forward in permeating and building up the life of China. This is the most important aspect of the present status of the Chi a Christian movement.

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